

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (formerly 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information.

 X New Submission Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

The Nottoway of Virginia, c. 1650-c. 1953

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

Historical Nottoway Settlements and Territory, 1650-1735

The Nottoway Colonial Reservation, c.1730-1750

The French and Indian War and Revolutionary War Era, c.1750-1790

The Nottoway During the Era of the Early Republic, c.1790-1830

The Nottoway During the Antebellum Era, c.1830-1860

“Indian Town” Farms, c.1850-1860

Impacts on the Nottoway from the Civil War through Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction, c.1860-1900

Jim Crow and Urbanization, c. 1900-1953

C. Form Prepared by:

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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation.

Signature of certifying official

Director
Title

Date

Virginia Department of Historic Resources
State or Federal Agency or Tribal government

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

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Signature of the Keeper

Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Create a Table of Contents and list the page numbers for each of these sections in the space below.

Provide narrative explanations for each of these sections on continuation sheets. In the header of each section, cite the letter, page number, and name of the multiple property listing. Refer to *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* for additional guidance.

Page Numbers

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

(If more than one historic context is documented, present them in sequential order.)

F. Associated Property Types

(Provide description, significance, and registration requirements.)

Property Type 1 – Sites

Property Type 2 – Buildings and Structures

Property Type 3 – Historic Districts

G. Geographical Data

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

(Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.)

I. Major Bibliographical References

(List major written works and primary location of additional documentation: State Historic Preservation Office, other State agency, Federal agency, local government, university, or other, specifying repository.)

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Acknowledgements

Special thanks and recognition are in order for the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia, who completed a 2016 Memorandum of Understanding with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources in advance of the conducted research. Nottoway Chief Lynette Alston, Assistant Chief Archie Elliot, Councilman Leroy Hardy Jr., and tribal citizens Joyce Flythe and Rick Kelly were signatories and offered their review. Community and family members Gloria

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Faye Hardy, Felicia Thornton-Manuel, and Alfred O. Whittaker provided invaluable comments to the draft materials.

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 250 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Chief, Administrative Services Division, National Park Service, PO Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127; and the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reductions Project (1024-0018), Washington, DC 20503.

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E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Introduction

The Nottoway are indigenous to the interior coastal plain of Virginia and North Carolina, and closely related to the region's other Iroquoian-speakers, the Meherrin and Tuscarora. After intermittent contact with Europeans c. 1560-1650, a brisk trade emerged c. 1650-1675 between the Nottoway and the English colonists who settled in the eastern tidewater region. Colonial expansion and increased conflict led to several wars and subsequent treaties between the Nottoway and Virginia's colonial government. The Nottoway, along with the Pamunkey, were signatories of the 1677-1680 *Articles of Peace* negotiated at the Camp of Middle Plantation, later established as the colonial capital of Williamsburg. Through the articles in the agreement, the Nottoway became "tributary" to the English king – a quasi-alliance – that forced the Nottoway and other tribes to acknowledge the dominion of the Crown, but confirmed Indian governments and territories as dependent sovereigns. The Nottoway tributary status was again confirmed by treaty in 1714 at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War. As stipulated in these treaties, the Nottoway lands were surveyed and two reservations were established around their Indian Towns, in the landscape of what is today Southampton County, Virginia. Later, the reservations were divided among the resident Nottoway c. 1830-1880, and "allotment" farms of extended Indian families were developed as private property homesteads. At least one property, the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (44SN0341), was established c. 1850 on Nottoway Indian allotment land and was continuously occupied by the family and descendants until c. 1950. This site has been documented as one of the last remaining farms of the Nottoway's Indian Town. Today, the farmstead is an archaeological site, but with connection to the living memory of Nottoway descendants of the residence, and prior to c. 1950, to an uninterrupted indigenous tenancy stretching back hundreds of years.

Through the National Park Service's Underrepresented Communities grant, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources [VDHR] established the multiple-phase project *Continuity Within Change: Virginia Indians National Register Project*. This project seeks to identify, research, evaluate, and nominate significant places associated with Virginia Indian tribes for listing in the VLR and NRHP. The first three phases of the project focus on the state-recognized Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia (NTIV), the Mattaponi Tribe, and the Sappony Tribe. In collaboration with tribal councils and members, each phase was conducted by the Department of Anthropology's American Indian Resource Center at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, while staff of the VDHR provided technical assistance. The results of these investigations provide the basis for a Multiple Property Documentation Form (MPD) and for the nomination of at least one significant place associated with each tribe. As there have been limited anthropological or historical investigations of Virginia Indian reservations, the *Continuity Within Change* project adds significant knowledge to our understanding of an overlooked and underrepresented period of Virginia Indian culture and history.

The activity that is the subject of this MPD has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. However, the contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior.

Historical Nottoway Settlements and Territory, 1650-1735

During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Nottoway habitations and hunting areas were situated along branches of the Chowan River drainage, concentrated on the upper Nottoway River in Virginia and North Carolina's Coastal Plain region (Map 1). English records from the period identify four Nottoway

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towns; two, Rowantee and Cohannehahanka, were near the mouths of present-day Rowanty Creek in Dinwiddie County and two others, Cottoshowrock and Tonnatorah, were along Stoney Creek in Sussex County, Virginia. One of the latter towns may be the Nottoway Archaeological Site (VDHR #091-0075), located in Sussex County, near the confluence of Stoney Creek and the Nottoway River. Listed in the NRHP in 1988, this site includes cultural resources from c. 8000 BCE to c. 1600 CE and is thought to be the location of a Nottoway town recorded by European explorers c. 1650. To the south, the closely-related Meherrin Indians were settled in several villages, including Cowinchahawkon, located east of Emporia, Virginia, on the Meherrin River and Unote near Adams Grove in Southampton County, Virginia. South along the interior coastal plain, other Iroquois-speaking towns of the Tuscarora were dispersed along the Roanoke, Tar, and Neuse rivers in Virginia and North Carolina (Map 1).

Between 1650 and 1675, the Meherrin, Nottoway, and Tuscarora became staunch trading partners of the English and allies of the colonial government of Virginia. Competition for English goods among neighboring tribes, and the continual push of Virginia traders deeper into the southwest, eventually produced conflict and upheaval; by the end of the seventeenth century, war, disease, slave raiding, and displacement had reduced most of Southside Virginia-North Carolina's indigenous people to several thousand individuals scattered among a half-dozen settlements. Some Algonquian-speakers, such as the Weyanock and Nansemond, relocated from the proximity of English plantations on the James River toward the Iroquoian territory. Brittle alliances among these groups were crosscut by intermittent hostilities. At the end of Bacon's Rebellion, treaties between Virginia and nearby Indian groups were signed in 1677 and 1680, including the Meherrin, Nansemond, Nottoway, and Weyanock. Along with the other Indian signatories, the Nottoway became tributaries of the English Crown. An alliance with unequal power relations and semi-sovereignty, the *Articles of Peace* (commonly known as the "Treaty Middle Plantation;" see the signatory page, Figure 1) outlined mutual rights and responsibilities, including military cooperation and territorial boundaries (Binford 1967; Boyce 1978; McCartney 2006).

By the early 1680s, some Meherrin removed downriver and established a town, Taurara, at the mouth of Tawarra Creek near Boykins in Southampton County, Virginia. Others established a large settlement at the confluence of the Meherrin and Chowan Rivers in present-day North Carolina. Between about 1685 and 1691 the Meherrin towns of Cowinchahawkon, Taurara, and Unote were all abandoned in favor of this new chief habitation. Near the same time, the Nottoway left their upriver towns, Cohannehahanka, Cottoshowrock, Rowantee, and Tonnatorah, and relocated to the Assamoosick Swamp environs, where by 1695 they built a fortified "Great Town." Farther south, several Nottoway families reoccupied an old Weyanock village, Warekeck, today near where the Assamoosick empties into the Nottoway River in Southampton County. During this era, the Weyanock abandoned their last village along the Blackwater River near Coppahaunk Swamp and integrated their community with the Nottoway and Nansemond (Binford 1967).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the colony of Virginia opened the Indian lands beyond the Blackwater River for English settlement. Per the 1677-1680 *Articles of Peace*, the Nottoway and other signatories were to have a three-mile perimeter established around their towns. The goal of the buffer was to limit European-Indian conflict over hunting and grazing areas, and establish a surveyed boundary against land encroachment. An act of the House of Burgesses in 1705 ordered, "the Bounds for the Nottoway Lands be Laid out for Them...a Circle Three Miles Round...and another parcel of Land on the South Side Nottoway River Six Miles Square" (McIlwaine III:98).

The Iroquoian treaty lands surrounding the Nottoway "Indian Towns" totaled sixty-four square miles or 41,000 acres (Briggs and Pittman 1997:134). The land north of the Nottoway River along the Assamoosick

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Swamp was a twenty-eight square mile polygon often called the “Circle Tract,” which surrounded the Great Town (the site of the Great Town has been recorded at VDHR as 44SN0237). The Nottoway lands south of the river, known as the “Square Tract,” contained approximately thirty-six square miles (Map 2). Today, the formerly reserved land is mostly in Southampton County, with a small portion extending into Sussex County. However, the earliest colonial surveys of these reservation tracts do not survive and were unaccounted for by the Commonwealth as early as 1809 (Palmer 1893 X:66; Rountree 1987:196).

Following the c. 1705 surveys and the opening of Virginia’s Southside to English settlement, the colonial government again recognized the Nottoway’s land rights by treaty in 1713, at the conclusion of the costly Tuscarora War (Spotswood 1885 II:196-200). The Nottoway remained mostly allied with Virginia during the conflict, which significantly divided the Iroquoians in the region. As an outcome of the 1711-1713 war, large segments of the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and Meherrin populations emigrated to New York under the protection of the northern Iroquois League. The Tuscarora became the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy in 1722. Those Nottoway who continued to reside in the southern coastal plain remained tributaries to Virginia’s colonial government; Native communities bordering the interior piedmont were considered militarized buffers against foreign encroachment into English settlements (Boyce 1978:286). Per the 1677 and 1713 treaty agreements reached in Williamsburg, Virginia, the Nottoway began sending students to the Brafferton Indian School at the College of William & Mary. Maintaining two students at the College confirmed the Nottoway’s tributary status, and provided some measure of continued engagement with colonial officials (Stuart 1984).

Most Nottoway settlements described by Englishmen were not nucleated but rather were dispersed along the waterways with horticultural fields between familial compounds (Salley 1911:9-11). John Barnwell’s 1712 description of Iroquoian towns indicate “it is only a plantation here and there scattered about the Country, nowhere 5 houses together, and then ¼ a mile such another and so on for several miles” (1908:32). The legislative order of the 1705 land survey described the Circle Tract’s town along the Assamoosick drainage as “Their Fort,” so at least by that date a central portion of the village was fortified with a palisade (McIlwaine III:98). Palisades in Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian communities were constructed during times of strife, although the fortifications did not necessarily encompass the whole settlement (Boyce 1978:283; Byrd 1941:424-425). Descriptions of the Nottoway Old Town (also known as the Great Town) from 1695-1734 indicate that the community was scattered along the Assamoosick drainage towards the Nottoway River where an additional settlement was seated (Binford 1967:177-179; Byrd 1941:424).

About 300 Nottoway occupied these several settlements until c. 1735, when the main residence was moved from their fortified “Old Town” on the lower Assamoosick to the south side of the Nottoway River within the Square Tract. This latter settlement, known as Ronotough, was at a sharp bend in the Nottoway River near the Assamoosick Swamp’s terminal Concorie Branch. This tract was the same aforementioned settlement that the Weyanock called Warekeck, leased to them by the Nottoway decades earlier. From the mid-1730s onward, Ronotough was the main Nottoway habitation, and the only remaining Iroquoian-speaking town within the colony of Virginia. About 1737, the Nansemond removed from their settlement on the lower Nottoway River, then straddling the border of Isle of Wight and Nansemond counties, to combine with the Nottoway at Ronotough (Binford 1967:189; Briggs and Pittman 1995; Byrd 1929:112-114; Woodard 2013:143-146; 2016:162). (The sites of Warekeck and Ronotough are within the boundaries of a later plantation, Rose Hill, all of which were listed in the NRHP in 1973.)

According to the records of the Virginia House of Burgesses, the Nottoway began making inquiries toward the selling of their abandoned “Circle Tract” treaty lands, north of the Nottoway River, during the

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1730s. John Simmons petitioned the Virginia Council as early as 1728 to allow him to “patent a certain tract of land...formerly assigned to the Nottoway Indians” (Stanard 1925:21). Simmons had developed some rapport with the Iroquoians and like another interpreter, Henry Briggs, occasionally interceded on their behalf. With apparent consent of the Nottoway, in 1710 Simmons arranged to build a gristmill on Indian land at Buckhorn Swamp and surveyed several tracts along the Nottoway River prior to becoming one of the first “trustees” of the tribe in 1734 (Alexander 1972:156; Hennings IV:461). Thus, the formal survey of Nottoway towns corresponded with the English occupation of the region. By the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, hundreds of European farmsteads surrounded the reservation lands and the Nottoway frontier began to quickly close (Binford 1967:168; Parramore 1978:6; Woodard 2016:162).

Nottoway Subsistence, 1650-1735

The pattern of Nottoway subsistence was more or less only slightly modified until the end of the first century of English occupation. Binford (1967), Boyce (1978), and Smith (1984) describe the indigenous cultural milieu of the Virginia-Carolina Iroquoians, so that only a summary of their provisioning will suffice here. Nottoway subsistence consisted of a combination of hunting/ gathering and horticultural pursuits. Seasonal migration between upland and lowland riverine territories provided the communities with hardwood nutmast and animal meat in the fall, followed by fish, shellfish, and tubers in the spring. Corn, beans, sunflowers, tobacco, and members of the *Curcubita* genus [gourds, pumpkins, squash, etc.] were grown through the summer. Wild fruits, such as blackberries, grapes, maypops, mulberry, persimmons, and strawberries, were gathered as they ripened in the seasonal round. Cordage and house coverings (bark, cattails, rushes, etc.) were collected in the warmer seasons; houses conformed to the oval, bent sapling variety of the Mid-Atlantic. Mats and other textiles were woven from vegetable and animal hair, the majority of clothing produced from animal skins. Food and clothing provisioning practices would shift during the years leading up to the eighteenth century, as European trade and settlement encouraged the Nottoway into further participation in the colonial economy (Binford 1967:188-189).

Indigenous trade networks positioned the Nottoway as middlemen between resource areas of the interior and coastal regions. Raw and modified shell, dried fish, and similar oceanic products streamed into Nottoway lands from the east, as lithics, animal products, and copper flowed in from the west. Comments by early European settlers suggest that the Natives of the Nottoway region traded freshwater pearls, salt, and botanical products in multiple directions. Native trade continued into the eighteenth century, but the Nottoway’s role as trade brokers with the English increased in importance and prominence with the rise of the Virginia fur trade. New relationships and labor practices developed, and new materials and technologies flowed into Nottoway communities. The Nottoway role as middlemen was soon, however, eclipsed as the colonial frontier pushed farther into the interior and James River traders engaged more distant groups.

Descriptions of the Nottoway from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries indicate that animal husbandry was introduced into the region during the first seventy-five years of the colonial encounter. Hogs, cattle, and horses were noted in multiple Algonquian, Iroquoian, and Siouan communities (Brickell 1737; Henning III:109; Lawson 1967; Rountree 1990:150), although the degree to which Native people relied on them during this period is speculative. By the 1690s, Nottoway and Weyanock hogs were given a special “Indian Town Mark” to distinguish the roving swine from English stock and to clarify the origin of pigs that were sold (Stanard 1903:55). The incorporation of domesticated animals into Nottoway settlements was a significant shift in the indigenous economy and subsistence practices.

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Peaches and apples were introduced into Nottoway-Tuscarora communities at a relatively early date. Orchards were noted in Southside Algonquian towns during the latter half of the seventeenth century (Rountree 1990:108), as well as in Iroquoian contexts at the turn of the eighteenth century (Barnwell 1908:34). Lawson suggested that some orchards were cultivated prior to colonization (1967:115), possible evidence of Spanish diffusion from the Juan Pardo or DeSoto expeditions (Rudes 2002; Woodard 2006). William Byrd's c. 1730 visit to the upper Roanoke River region noted the presence of abandoned Indian peach orchards (1901:286), most likely of Siouan origin (DeMallie 2004:292). Tuscarora migration into New York after the Carolina war left a series of "irregularly planted" apple orchards along their path, including one site that was organized c. 1714 (Boyce 1973:32).

Nottoway Socio-political Organization, 1650-1735

Based on colonial accounts, the Nottoway and other Iroquoians were politically organized in autonomous independent villages (Salley 1911:8-19; Stanard 1911:273; Lawson 1967). Status distinctions within communities were determined by individual accomplishment, with some leadership positions being hereditary. A council of "great men" governed the affairs of local groups, possibly based on clan positions or some similar crosscutting social mechanism (Woodard 2013:120). Evidence suggests that Meherrin, Nottoway, and Tuscarora towns possessed a significant degree of territorial and political autonomy, with alliances struck through kinship and individual social responsibilities (Binford 1967:236; Boyce 1978:283). Thus, Nottoway politics were driven by individual and community agendas as much as by "tribal" obligations. Such crosscutting webs of social and kinship interaction can be gleaned from a Meherrin headman's 1727 deposition: "Captain Rogers who is their Chief man says that he has no doubt of the Nottoways friendship, having his Mothers Sister and Several of her Children grown up, now living with these people" (Palmer 1875:212). This passage suggests that marriages extended beyond the local group, linking linguistically and culturally similar communities across territorial boundaries.

Nottoway descent was matrilineal and possibly organized into clan structures (Dawdy 1994:51; Landy 1978:523; Swanton 1946:654; Woodard 2013:120). Prior to their removal, Tuscarora clans may have included the Deer, Wolf, Beaver, Turtle, Bear, and possibly several others (Beauchamp 1905:145; Landy 1978:519; Morgan 1877:93; Wallace and Reyburn 1951:44-43). Ritual and political positions were probably drawn from these segments at the community level. A dual division of clans formed moieties, whose function was primarily ceremonial. Smith (1971) and Dawdy (1994) support a moiety dual division for the Nottoway, a pattern widespread in Northern Iroquoia (Fenton 1978:310-311; Trigger 1990:68). Von Graffenried's illustration of his 1711 captivity among the Tuscarora depicts what appears to be a totemic moiety division of the Deer and the Wolf. In a ritual context, these groupings had reciprocal rights and responsibilities – particularly in the community's ceremonial cycle and mortuary activities (Woodard 2013:109-110, 112).

Nottoway political organization changed little during the first centuries of European colonization. Multiple seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents depict the Nottoway as being governed by a "king" or *Teerheer* and a body of "great men" (i.e. McIlwaine III:407). Each family or kinship division had a political position that contributed to the formation of a community council at the local level. Senior women of the matriline may have controlled hereditary titles to leadership positions. The *Teeheer* could have been drawn from a particular lineage that held title to the senior headmanship.

It is probable that the *Teerheer* and other great men that appear so frequently in the Virginia Council records and on county land deeds and indentures represent the kin-based governing body of the Nottoway. It was a segmentary structure linked to family units and matrilineages, their civil actions made through consensus

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at the local level. Senior matriarchs, sometimes guised as “wise women” (ibid:5), a “grave Matron” (Byrd 1967:116), or “queens” (Morse 1822:31) controlled the candidacy of distinguished men to offices leadership, whereby the “great men” ruled more through persuasion and generosity than by domination or monarchy. Consensus building was a major component of Iroquoian governance, and a frustration of eighteenth-century colonial officials; Nottoway and other Iroquoian headmen could not always act on behalf of their towns without further council:

We are sent by the Town to hear what the Gov’r says or has to propose & upon their return, their Great men will come in to conclude...They cannot answer it without consulting their Town – they may tell lyes and their people may be offended with them & not stand to their offers (Stanard 1911:274).

Documents pertaining to Nottoway land sales from the first half of the eighteenth century indicate that seven to fifteen individuals represented the community’s interests in formal dealings with the colonial government (Rountree n.d.). Drawn from a population of 200-300 inhabitants of one or two Nottoway towns (Beverly 1947:232; Lawson 1967:242; Byrd 1967:116), the averages conform to a pattern consistent with other regional communities’ segmentary or dual structures based on familial, clan, or territorial divisions (Woodard and Moretti-Langholtz 2009).

The incorporation of Weyanock and Nansemond kin-groups into the Nottoway community c. 1695 and c. 1737 mirrored other Iroquoian demographic strategies and adoption practices. Thus, Algonquian matrilineal could be preserved as new community segments. Many times, these additions were considered as “little” or “younger brothers” when formally incorporated politically (Tooker 1978:428-429). Coalescence was also a response to community needs for defense, including the removal and consolidation of some Nottoway-Meherrin with the Tuscarora as the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy (Gatshet 1883:4, 36; Rudes 1981:32-34; Wallace and Reyburn 1951; Woodard 2013:121-122, 126-128).

The Nottoway in the Colonial Economy

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Nottoway were firmly engaged in the Virginia fur trade. Acting both as hunters and interpreters for James River English traders, Nottoway men ranged far from the river homeland that bore their name. Regular hunting forays extended across the Virginia-Carolina fall line into the upland piedmont. Nottoway hunters were regularly noted along the upper Roanoke River (Stanard 1907:114) and seasonally “being gone” from their towns, “not being at home” or “gone abroad” (Stanard 1897:35-39). Lt. Governor Spotswood reported to the Board of Trade in London that the Nottoway were engaged in “Trafficking with the inhabitants their Skins and Furrs for Cloathing, powder, Shott and other European manufactures” (I:167).

Deerskins were the main staple of the Nottoway trade, but beaver, mink, otter, and muskrat were also trapped (Crane 2004:328; Traunter 1698:10). Each hunting season, the Nottoway received credit with licensed traders – usually the employees of factors. Men like William Byrd of Westover and Nathaniel Harrison of Brandon funded the operations of dozens of Indian traders. Factors’ credit purchased European goods with merchants that, in turn, would be weighed against tobacco and skins trucked to warehouses along the James River. Skins and furs marked to be exported were first taxed by the Colony, with the income used to supplement the funding for the Brafferton Indian School and the College of William & Mary. Spring and autumn exports of Nottoway skins from Virginia were received across the Atlantic Ocean in ports such as Glasgow and Liverpool. These imports would then be credited to accounts in England in order to balance the debts of factors, merchants,

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and shipmasters. The fur was felted mostly for hats while the deerskins were turned into leather for breeches, gloves, book covers, saddles, etc.

The credit the Nottoway received was extended to purchase “trade goods.” Guns replaced bows, linen and wool replaced buckskin, iron tools replaced stone, and kettles replaced Native ceramics. The entrance of the Nottoway into a market system eroded the earlier subsistence-based economy, whereby like many Native groups in the colonial encounter, the community no longer was able to produce the items they needed or to control the dynamics of exchange (see White 1983; Wolf 1998). Increased competition for diminishing resources lead to other Nottoway strategies for provisioning their towns’ needs. The establishment of Isle of Wight markets allowed the Nottoway to sell Indian-made wooden bowls and utensils, which assisted the Iroquoian towns with acquiring additional avenues for income (Henning II:410, 480; Binford 1967:167). Finely woven mats made of cattails or tule reed were also sold to planters, as were “Baskets of their own making” “of a very fine sort of *Bullrushes*, and sometimes of *Silk-grass*, which they work with the figures of *Beasts, Birds, Fishes*” or dyed in “several sorts of Figures, in imitation of *Gorges, Crosses, Stars*, or any other odd kind of Figure that their imagination suggests” (Byrd 1967:122; Brickell 1737:338, 349). A modified Euro-Indian ceramic tradition also emerged during this period. Nottoway women produced earthenware plates, shallow bowls, and mugs in European styles for sale to Southside Virginia farmsteads (Binford 1964:303; 1990; Egloff and Potter 1982:114).

Land sales coincided with the Nottoway and associated groups’ participation in the fur trade and the expanding colonial frontier. Loss of territorial hunting grounds through European settlement, marked with an increase in demand for manufactured goods, resulted in a “vicious cycle” of dependency and debt with James River traders (Binford 1967:163-168; Rountree 1987:198; Woodard 2013:45-48). Equally, competition for land use and trade resources created factionalism among Iroquoians:

...the Tuskaruroe Indians (being encouraged thereto) do often come in the upper partes of the Countrey, about Appamattox, amongst the English, who furnish them with Gunns and Powder & shott, which enables them to hunt upon and burn up all their [Nottoway] grounds, whereby their game is Destroyed and their hunting spoyled. That the English trust the Tuskaruroes in trade with Rum & other goods which they bring out amongst the Nottowayes, and sometimes set into Play [gambling], and lose all or great parte of those goods, and not being able to make satisfaction to the English, they tell them the Nottoways take their goods from them, which occasions Differences and dissatisfaccons between the English and the Nottoways (Palmer 1875:65).

The sale of uninhabited lands allowed for the settling of trade deficits and reopening of exchange with local merchants and traders who kept those debts. The Nottoway complained that they were often engaged by “ill disposed and dishonest people” who plied them with alcohol and took “great advantages of them, by first getting them in debt, and then taking their skins, money, cloaths, and ammunition; by which means they defeat the just trader from getting paid, for furnishing them with the necessaries of life” (Hennings V:273). At other times the Nottoway feigned that they were decrepit and unable to maintain themselves without the land sales,

...reduced by warrs sickness and other casualties, to a small number and among those that remain many are old and unable to labour or hunt...whereas they have petitioned this general assembly to be enabled to sell the first mentioned tract in small parcels, for the payment of their debts, and the better support and maintenance of them and their posterity (Hennings IV:459).

Thus, the sale of Nottoway lands enabled the community to alleviate their debts and resupply their households with manufactured goods, livestock, and other services. The long-term impact, however, of

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Nottoway increased participation in the colonial economy was the loss of control of their provisioning resources.

The Nottoway Colonial Reservation, c. 1730-1750

Towns and Houses

At the time of the Nottoway's settlement at Ronotough, the community's cultural patterns remained indigenous in character, however changed in their materiality and provisioning practices. Colonial descriptions c. 1730, such as from William Byrd II and physician John Brickell, indicate Iroquoian houses were still "made of Saplings, arched at the top, and cover'd so well with Bark as to be proof against all Weather" and were "made oval, or round like an *Oven*." These cabins were multigenerational, where three or four matrilineal "Families commonly live together, all related to one another...In one of these Houses." The kindred shared several central interior fires, "made in the Middle...the Smoak whereof finds no other Vent but at the Door, and so keeps the whole family Warm" (Brickell 1737:290-291; Byrd 1967:114).

Byrd also wrote of "Appartments" with regard to Nottoway housing, possibly relating to the multiple sections of the longhouse divided among family segments. These bedding and storage areas formed the interior structure of the houses, "The Indians have no standing Furniture in their Cabanes but Hurdles to repose their Persons upon, which they cover with Mats or Deer-skins." Brickell's portrayal agrees, "These Dwelling-Houses have Benches all round, except where the Door stands, whereon they lay Beasts Skins and Mats made of *Rushes*, on which they sleep and loll, having no other Beds but these." When Byrd's troupe visited the Nottoway, they were given "the best Appartments... which just before had been made ready for our Reception, and adorn'd with new Mats, that were sweet and clean." These scant details provide the character of mid-eighteenth-century Nottoway lodgings – with wooden benches and bark coverings, tanned deerskins and woven mats – organized around central hearths. The Nottoway matrilineage, the *ohwachira*, translates as "a fireside," the metaphor for closely related families that live next to one another and share a lodge fire.

John Brickell's account of the interior coastal plain described other village structures, such as ramadas and storehouses, the latter being a modification related to increased participation in the Virginia fur trade, They have other sorts of Cabins made without Windows or Holes at the top, which are their...Store-Houses for their *Deer* or *Bever* Skins, and all other kind of Merchandize that they deal in. They have Cabbins of another kind made like a Shead, being only covered over head, the rest left open to the Air; these have Reed Hurdles like Tables to lie and sit on in *Summer*, and serve for pleasant Banqueting Houses in the extremity of the hot Weather (1737:291).

As early as 1609 and 1621, Native leaders had European-style houses constructed in Indian towns, including the Weyanock coalesced with the Nottoway. In their old settlement at Warekeck, the Weyanock had an "English-built house...and an apple orchard," the former long gone by the time the Nottoway resettled Ronotough on the "Waricake old fields." However, the Nottoway had adapted their Great Town palisade fortifications, conforming to the square pattern of the English; possibly some other aspects of Virginia architecture made its first appearance amongst the Nottoway during this era. For the English housing style, Lewis Binford notes that frame construction, rather than hewn log, was the prevalent form at this time. Among the neighboring Iroquoians and Algonquians, Brickell indicated he was most familiar (1729-1731) with the remaining Tuscarora and nearby Chowan, stating that oval bark cabins were the normative structures in Indian Towns, "except the civilized Kings, who of late have Houses fashioned and built after the manner that the *Christians* build theirs." Over the next fifty years, houses at Nottoway Town would become transformed, both

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in their interior material goods and in their construction. They would however, remain organized in an indigenous pattern based on uxori-locality (living with the mother's family) and matrilineal kinship (descent through the mother) (Binford 1967:157-161; Brickell 1737:291; Stanard 1900 8:3-4; Woodard 2013:136-137)

During the mid-eighteenth century the Nottoway maintained horticultural plots, as well as a limited animal husbandry, and the men were constantly hunting. Corn was the major crop staple of the community, as mentioned in passing by William Byrd II c. 1730 and by the House of Burgesses in 1759, "by reason of their Absence from Home made little corn to subsist on, and praying that some allowance may be made them to purchase Corn for support of themselves and their Families" (Byrd 1967:116; McIlwaine 1915 [1908:86]). The women worked these horticultural fields through the traditional gendered division of labor, "The little Work that is done among the Indians is done by the poor Women, while the men are quite idle, or at most employ'd only in the Gentlemanly Diversions of Hunting and Fishing. In this, as well as in their Wars, they now use nothing but Fire-Arms, which they purchase of the English for Skins" (Byrd 1967:116). Pigs, dogs, and a few horses were among the Nottoway's animals, howsoever not entirely used for subsistence. Nottoway attachment to swine came during this and an earlier era, first as semi-wild stocks in their swamps, and second as a recurring staple of domesticity. Byrd indicated that he offered "bacon & Rum" as negotiable commodities in village exchange, "which they accepted very kindly, the Ladys as well as the Men" (115). Nottoway engagement with animal husbandry increased over the next half century, becoming more a part of daily life and seasonal commerce.

Early Land Sales

The Nottoway petitioned to sell their Circle Tract reservation in 1734, after they retired to the south shore of the Nottoway River at Ronotough. The sales of the northern Nottoway lands provided relief from existing trade debts and an infusion of currency into the Nottoway community. To manage the land sales and the resulting income distribution, the Virginia House of Burgesses appointed four to six "Trustees" to manage the Indians' affairs. These men facilitated the commodification of Nottoway land through surveys, estimating market values, overseeing transactions and disbursing monetary funds, or equivalent in trade goods, to the headmen of Indian Town (Ronotough). Nottoway Trustees were White men, Southampton County landowners, and usually of considerable political and economic standing in the Southside; they were not Nottoway Indians. The House approved the Nottoway request to sell their Circle Tract lands, and in 1735 Trustees Thomas Cocke, Benjamin Edwards, and John Simmons held an auction for about one quarter of the northern reservation. Twenty-eight parcels were sold for the "support and maintenance" of Indian Town residents, raising about £500. The land transactions were made in tripartite contract, or indentures, among the chief men of the Nottoway, the Trustees, and the purchasers. After these first sales, as the Nottoway needed monetary resources or material goods, they sold land to generate income. By 1754 the majority of the Circle Tract was surveyed and sold, with only a few small parcels remaining (Briggs and Pittman 1997:139-140; Woodard 2013:143-146).

The sale price of individual Circle Tract plots ranged widely, from fourteen shillings to forty-five pounds, depending on the size of the parcels and relationship of the buyers to the Nottoway headmen. The monies derived from land sales were used to supplement the growing mercantile needs of the community: merchant and traders' goods such as blankets, brass kettles, new guns, iron tools, linens, powder, shot, rum, and woolens. Nottoway reliance on merchant capital intensified as they further consumed finished goods, adopted animal husbandry, and acquired farming implements (Rountree 1987:196-201; Woodard 2016; and see Biolsi 1992:1-33; Meyer 1994:9-67; O'Brien 1997).

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The need to settle existing debt contributed to some of the eighteenth-century Nottoway land transactions. Local merchant Samuel Blow cleared outstanding tribal accounts with a purchase of fifty-seven Circle Tract acres for the paltry sum of £0.14s.3^d. Other planters in Isle of Wight, Prince George, Southampton, and Surry counties contracted business with the Nottoway and, through close association with leading Indian Town men, were given opportunities to purchase uninhabited tribal lands, with most sales below fair market price. Eighteenth-century Nottoway Trustees Etheldred Taylor, John Simmons, and Thomas Cocke all surveyed lands within the Circle, as did immediate members of their families. Elizabeth Lucas Briggs, the widow of the old Nottoway interpreter Henry Briggs, received a bargain price of £1.19s. for 130 acres east of the Assamoosick Swamp. The documents indicate only one woman purchased land directly from the Nottoway; Briggs's property straddled the border of what is now Sussex County (Briggs and Pittman 1997:140, 143). The relationship of the Nottoway to non-Indian planters, such as William Hines and the Quaker Walter Bailey must have conferred an insider-status, as both men purchased Circle Tract lands and Nottoway headmen took their names as honorifics when signing mid-eighteenth-century deeds (DB5:455; DB8:17, Isle of Wight, VA). Marks and signatures of Nottoway leaders suggest the creation of English-style names – some names adopted whole cloth as honorifics, others as hybridized descriptors, and some by descent. The following headmen are listed on Nottoway documents between 1715 and 1749:

King William Edmonds	Jack Will	Alexander Scholar
Colonel Hill	Jamey [James]	Robin [Robert] Scholar
Cockerouse Tom	John	[Capt.] Charles Skipper
Cockerouse Will	John, Jr.	George Skipper
Old / Captain Sam	John Turner	Watt [Walter] Bailey
Cherino	Indian Dick [Richard]	William Hines
Doctor Tom	Ned [Edward]	Wineoak Arthur
Frank	Peter	Wainoak Robin [Robert]
Harrison	Old / Indian Roger	Robin Wainoak Jr.
	Cheavins [Chavis]	

The French and Indian War and Revolutionary War Era, c. 1750-1790

With the transformation of the landscape surrounding Indian Town, the Nottoway's maneuverability was significantly reduced, and the impact of territory loss became more acute. Hunting parties and trap lines ranged farther beyond the Roanoke frontier, and the Indian Trade shifted decidedly west of the Nottoway settlement. Trade deficits and the lack of Nottoway resources again required the Nottoway to pursue alternative avenues for subsistence. Through the lobbying of their Trustees, a 1752 act of the House of Burgesses was passed for the protection of the Nottoway:

Many evil disposed persons under pretence of the said Indians being indebted to them do frequently disposes them of their guns, blankets, and other apparel, to their great impoverishment...persons so offending, shall forfeit and pay to the Indian or Indians so injured, the sum of twenty shillings current money, for every such offence... [and] shall be paid to the trustees aforesaid, and by them laid out in common necessities of life, for the Indian to whose use the same shall be recovered (Hening VI:286).

The tribe also requested to sell more of their reservation lands in 1748 and 1756, totaling 20,000 acres out of the Square Tract parcel south of the Nottoway River. With their settlement situated along the river, the Nottoway elected to sell the lower portion of their Southampton lands. While the Acts to sell these tracts

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provided monetary income and relief from existing and future debts, the reduction of Nottoway territory also further impacted the men's ability to hunt and trap as extensively as before.

The French and Indian War

As the French and Indian War began in the mid-1750s, Virginia called upon the colony's trading partners, the Cherokee and Catawba, to take up the fight against the French and their Native allies from the Ohio country. Garrisons and forts were established along the Virginia frontier, and war parties began arriving in Williamsburg several times a year to be supplied before heading to the frontlines. In the spring of 1756, a band of Cherokee "were received by the Militia of this City under Arms, attended by a great Concourse of People" and soon "agreed to proceed immediately to Winchester to join our Forces." The conflict also afforded small tributary nations the opportunity to resituate themselves within the colonial dynamic, and reassert their roles as allies of the Crown.

Yesterday came to Town several of the Nottoways, to renew their ancient League with their Brothers the Cherokees, which was done in the Market Place, by smoking the Pipe, &c. after which the Cherokee Warrior made a long Speech, desiring the Nottoways to go immediately to the Assistance of their Brothers the English, to fight strong, and drive away the French and Indians, who have seized the Lands of their Father King George. The Nottoways have agreed to go, and will set off in a few Days, together with the Cherokees (Maryland Gazette, May 6, 1756).

That season, fourteen Nottoway joined sixty Cherokee warriors in action around Ft. Cumberland, Maryland, and Winchester, Virginia. Led by Lt. James Baker of Isle of Wight County, the Nottoway received buckskins for new moccasins and a coat apiece upon arrival. The Nottoway fought in several engagements against the French and Shawnee through the midsummer, alongside Thomas Cresap, Nathaniel Gist, and Adam Stephen, all under the command of the young Lt. Colonel George Washington. However, unable to pay the Iroquoians the agreed upon "bit per day," by July, Washington purchased various "sundries for the Nottoways" and allowed them to retire from the battlefield with their newly acquired side arms. In August as the Nottoway planned to head for Southampton County, Washington called upon "Capt. Tom" Step of the Nottoway to deliver a written speech and wampum strands to the Tuscarora chief men in North Carolina. Step had proven himself a worthy ally during the summer, and as a probable Brafferton alumnus, his literacy allowed Washington to address the Tuscarora through Step as a proxy; Washington's goal was to raise more warriors for the next season of fighting against the French. As Virginia enlistments dwindled in September 1756, Washington encouraged Lt. Governor Robert Dinwiddie to pay monetarily the Nottoway and Tuscarora to fight alongside the colonials. When Lt. Baker returned to Isle of Wight in December, Washington again asked for the Nottoway and Tuscarora to come to his assistance (Robert Dinwiddie to George Washington, 4/23/56; William Fairfax to George Washington, 4/26/56; George Washington to Adam Stephen, 5/18/56; Adam Stephen to George Washington, 5/29/56; George Washington to Robert Dinwiddie 8/4/56; 9/8/56; 12/19/56; George Washington to the Tuscarora, 8/1/56 [GWP]; Quarles 1974:36-37).

Thomas Step was successful in his overture to the Tuscarora, and in March of 1757 Lt. Baker, King James Blunt, "39 Tuscaroras, 13 Nottoways, 7 Meherrins, and two Sapponys" arrived in Williamsburg to join Virginia's fight against the French. They were supplied armaments from the Magazine, as well as "Ammunition, Cloathing...Paint," "Blankets, &c." to encourage and sustain them. Too old to fight, Blunt's emissary to Virginia was the first in some time. He produced Washington's Tuscarora speech to the Governor, and designated "Captain Jack" to lead the war party, join Lt. Baker's column to Fredericksburg, and take the band on to Winchester. By mid-month, over 300 Indians had followed, including the Catawba under Hagler and the Cherokee under Second Yellow Bird. A large display of presents was organized for the Indians' enlistment,

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but the British struggled to have enough materials in continual supply, and were challenged by the task of managing the Indian parties (Maryland Gazette 4/21/57; McIlwaine VI:39; George Washington to Dinwiddie 5/29/57 [GWP]).

During the 1757 action, several warriors distinguished themselves and Washington recommended Gov. Dinwiddie recognize their specific efforts. Among them was “Captain Tom, the Chief of the Nottoways: He has received less, and deserves *more* than any of them; as he used great pains to bring the Tusk[arora]s, and has met with no reward for it, although he was promised one.” Thomas Step and the other tributaries fought through the summer, providing war parties from Ft. Cumberland and Ft. Loudoun against the French and Shawnee around Ft. Du Quesne and Logstown. By the fall, most all of the Indians had retired (George Washington to Dinwiddie 6/10/57; Gov. Arthur Dobbs to William Lyttelton 4/10/57 [GWP]; Quarles 1974:37).

About half of the Nottoway-Tuscarora band rejoined the fight in summer and fall of 1758, meeting Washington’s escort above Williamsburg at the King William County Courthouse. They served at Winchester’s Ft. Loudon (NRHP 2014), Ft. Cumberland in Maryland, and Ft. Bedford [Raystown], Pennsylvania, providing raiding parties and armed guards for colonial supply trains. Provisioned by General Forbes with new armaments, the Nottoway-Tuscarora stayed on with the fight when many Cherokee abandoned the effort. Arriving as a part of Washington’s Virginia Regiment, they scouted Forbes’ road toward Ft. Du Quesne, and according to Lt. Col. Henry Bouquet and others, fought “very well” “all last Summer and Fall in Conjunction with his Majesty’s Forces, against the French, faithfully and honestly, until the Reduction of Fort Du Quesne.” Later, the House of Burgesses noted,

Tom Step, Billy John, School Robin [Robert Scholar], and Aleck Scholar, Nottoway Indians...were in the Service of this Colony, and did behave themselves with great Bravery during the last Campaign, particularly...Tom Step, who distinguished himself very remarkably in the Action before Fort Du Quesne, under the Command of Major Grant.

In recognition of their service, the House agreed to further compensate the Nottoway, “Tom Step ought to be allowed £10 and the other three Indians £5 each, as a Reward for their Service.” Recommended to the Governor by George Washington and Adam Stephen, Step was further decorated with the “purchase [of] a Silver Gorget and a Suit of Cloths, to be presented to Captain Thomas Step, one of the Nottoway Indians, as a Mark of Distinction, and as a Reward for his brave and gallant Behaviour during the last Campaign” (Henry Bouquet to George Washington 7/8/58; Francis Faquier to George Washington 6/25/58 [GWP]; McIlwaine IX:94).

Removal to New York

At the conclusion of the French and Indian War, 160 Carolina Tuscarora elected to remove from their southern reservation and rejoin their kinsmen in New York. While others, including some Meherrin and Nottoway, immigrated to the Susquehanna River before 1752, the 1760s migration was the largest since the 1722 adoption of the Tuscarora into the Northern Iroquois League. Growing pressure from encroaching Whites, increased isolation in Virginia-North Carolina, and recent tribal reconnections made while on the Pennsylvania frontier likely influenced the decision to relocate to the Susquehanna towns. The elders of the Tuscarora told North Carolina Governor William Tryon in 1766 that, “we are mostly old men” “and children” “our young men [have]... gone to the Northward with the Northern Chief Tragaweha [or Diagawekee / Tiagawehe].” Of the 200-300 Nottoway enumerated by William Byrd II c. 1730, just thirty-five adults remained in Southampton County by 1773, only three of whom can be identified as the prominent men of the records from the 1750s. Thomas Jefferson offered a more dire description in 1781, “Of the *Nottoways* not a male is left. A few women

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constitute the remains of that tribe. They are seated on the Nottoway river in Southampton County, on very fertile lands.” Thus, the evidence suggests that waves of northern migration dwindled the populations of the Virginia-North Carolina Iroquoian Indian Towns. By the time of the American Revolution about fifty Nottoway remained in Southampton County, 100 Tuscarora on their Bertie County reservation in North Carolina, and just a few families among the Meherrin and the Algonquian Chowan (Ayers MS 3212; Clark 1890 VII:218-220; Jefferson 1787:155-156; Wood 1992:34).

The Tuscarora departing North Carolina funded their exodus through the 1766 leasing of 8,000 acres of their reservation, leaving the remaining 3,000-4,000 acres under the management of the Indians who chose to stay. In a plausibly parallel strategy, the Nottoway sold about 5,200 acres of their Southampton County Square Tract in the late 1750s, and another 1,600 acres in the early 1760s. The Tuscarora raised nearly £1000 from their rentals – used to buy provisions, wagons, and horses – while the Nottoway raised more than £919 from their land sales. No doubt some of this income went to address existing debts and community needs, but much of it supported the removal effort. As they were moving through Paxton, Pennsylvania, en route to New York, the convoy suffered some losses at the hands of antagonistic colonials. However the Virginia-Carolina groups eventually settled on the Susquehanna River, south of the existing Tuscarora villages. Those that emigrated established the villages of Shawiangto and Ingaren near present-day Windsor, New York (Boyce 1973:50-51, 98-101; DB2:124-144, 59-60, 163-164; DB3:84-87, 103-105, 228-230; Henning VIII:588-591; Johnson 1968 II:89-90; Wood 1992:33-34).

The reduction of the Nottoway population in Virginia to approximately fifty individuals impacted the community in substantive ways, with an unanticipated long-term outcome. With the continued emigration of many adults to New York, the remaining Virginia Nottoway adults, and soon-to-be adults, had a decreased pool of potential Iroquoian marriage partners. The result of this imbalance was contracts with non-Nottoway spouses, and a further shrinking of the matrilineal members of the community. Children of Nottoway men by non-Nottoway mothers can be referred to as “agnatic” Nottoway, and did not carry the same rights to tribal leadership positions and hereditary roles of matrilineal descent. With the removal of Indians from the region, further complications emerged with children born of Euro-American and African American marriages; a biological diversity came to be present at the Southampton Nottoway settlement. As an example, Millie Woodson-Turner, born c. 1831, was of African American, Native American, and European descent.

It is unclear the exact processes by which these southern refugees removed and settled in the north, but the population loss on the Nottoway and Tuscarora reservations was documented in the local records of the 1770s. The Tuscarora consolidated their North Carolina settlement in one village, Resootskeh, and the Meherrin, dwindled to less than sixty individuals, either abandoned or were driven from their reservation and apparently established a series of conjoined private farms along Potecasi Creek in Hertford County, North Carolina, marked as the “Meherrin Indians Town” on the 1770 Collet Map. The remaining Nottoway huddled along the stretches of the Nottoway River near their fishing shores at the juncture of the Assamoosick’s Concorie Branch, somewhat east of Wareck/ Ronotough (Boyce 1973:76-78; Dawdy 1994:113-120; Henning VIII:590; Saunders VI:616).

The easterly movement of the Nottoway settlements can be traced in the documentary and archaeological record of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (44SN0341). Discussed below, by the early 1770s the Nottoway leased the former town center of Ronotough, among a number of tracts west of the settlements associated with the Woodson-Turner Site environs (DB4:535-547; DB5:1-3, 22-23, 516). The artifact record from field investigations carried out in 2016 of the Woodson-Turner Site show a correlating increase in eighteenth-century artifacts, indicating that domestic activity on the property occurred during this

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era, and may be associated with the residential shift. There were few diagnostic artifacts that indicated an earlier historical occupation before the mid- to late-eighteenth century. Two colonoware fragments – from Nottoway-made ceramic vessels – were recovered during the field surveys, and can be typically dated to pre-1800 on Nottoway sites; a single Westerwald fragment was recovered, a sixteenth- through eighteenth-century Rhineland-produced ceramic, which “confirms that there was at least some form of occupation at the site in the 18th century.” In support of this analysis, one Buckley-type Redware vessel sherd was found, a manufacture that predates the 1770s, and several Pearlware sherds were recovered, which began manufacture in 1780. A kaolin pipe bowl fragment was also recovered, which are “ubiquitous on archaeological sites from the 17th through the 19th centuries.” These artifacts speak to the emergence of a domestic space at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead sometime during the era of the 1760s Nottoway removals to New York, and the correlating easterly shift [pre-1772] of Nottoway settlement away from Ronotough along Virginia’s Nottoway River terrace. The colonial-era artifacts were mostly recovered from the northeast end of the field survey, and possibly represent an Indian cabin from the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Further Nottoway Land Sales and Leases

In 1772, the Southampton Nottoway approached the House of Burgesses again to approve the sale of the remaining lands from the old Circle Tract, which were a few small parcels, and to allow them also to rent half of their Square Tract reservation to local planters. The Nottoway specified that the land they currently occupied should not be leased, and that they wished to protect their fishing place. The leases were intended to be long-term [twenty-one years], and not more than 300 acres within any one lease. The Trustees of the tribe were to collect and enforce the rental agreements, which included not cutting more than half of the standing timber on each tract, and reporting to the Southampton Court each January an account of their annual rents. Within five years of each lease, the planters were to develop the property; the act of the Assembly stated that the lessees were to,

build and compleatly finish a dwelling house twelve by sixteen feet, the frame to be sawed, covered with featheredge plank and shingled with good pine or cypress shingles, and shall moreover plant, inclose with good fences, and cultivate fifty apple trees on the lands so respectively leased to them.

The Trustees were instructed to use the money raised from the rentals to settle existing Nottoway debts, and once relieved, keep the remaining balance of the income in order to furnish “the said Indians with the common necessities of life,” as long as no accounts were directed toward “spirituous liquor.” For their troubles, the Trustees were granted a five-percent fee on the “whole money arising from the sale and leasing.” The Assembly anticipated the arrangements would also allow the Nottoway to pay their annual tribute, which may have been in arrears since the removal of many Nottoway northward (Henning VIII: 588-591).

The Trustees announced the 1772 rentals and land sale options by placing an advertisement on the Southampton County courthouse door, at every church and chapel in Nottoway parish, and through a notice in the *Virginia Gazette*, all to be concluded through public auction. Twelve separate leases were arranged for approximately 2,650 acres, raising an annuity for the Nottoway of £96.16.0. The leased lands were in the northwest corner of the reservation, west of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site on Indian Town Road, running from “Buckhorn Bridge” and “Buckhorn Road” or modern Cary’s Bridge and the environs around Buckhorn Quarter Road, Cary’s Bridge Road, Medicine Springs Road, and Pope’s Station Road. The leased land also included the old village site of Warekeck/ Ronotough, further evidencing the easterly movement of the community along the riverine terrace in the northeastern section of the reserve (Henning VIII: 590-591; DB4:535-547; DB5:1-3, 22-23, 516).

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From the 1750-1760s land sales and the 1770s rentals, a pattern begins to emerge with regard to the Nottoway and their financial relationship with their Trustee wardens. The Southampton Trustees, “whose duty was to watch over their interests, and guard them from insult and injury,” managed a tribal trust fund and the disbursement of Nottoway annuities. Annually, or as occasion dictated (such as death or crop failure), the Trustees would allocate monies to supplement individual Nottoway subsistence or additional earned income. However, they also controlled the land surveys, pricing, and lease agreements for the tribe. As prominent men of finance and politics in the county, the oversight of such large amounts of land, timber, and monetary resources created a situation whereby the Trustees found their position to be a lucrative one. As an outcome, a small circle of related and politically aligned men remained in control of the Nottoway Trusteeship for over one hundred years (Jefferson 1787:155; Woodard 2016).

By controlling the financial and material resources of the tribe, the Trustee system also undermined traditional Nottoway leadership roles and restricted the economic maneuverability of the remaining Southampton Nottoway community. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Nottoway headmen had to navigate two layers of colonial management: legislative permission to relinquish title to Native lands, and Trustee advocacy on the Nottoway’s behalf to seek fair market value and sale. Moreover, the capital accrued from land sales and rentals remained in the control of the Trustees and under Trustee management. The bureaucracy created by the colonial apparatus weakened the Nottoway headmen’s ability to effect desired outcomes, as Trustee oversight competed with indigenous leaders’ traditional roles as community negotiators and representatives. The Nottoway were thus at the mercy of Trustee discretion for doling out resources: capital outlay for finished goods, resolution to trading debts, and continued access to a market the Nottoway did not control. Trustee mismanagement of Nottoway funds ensued, to the advantage of the Trustees and to the inequity of the Nottoway people (Woodard 2013:152).

The American Revolution

On the eve of the American Revolution, thirty-five adult Nottoway remained on the Southampton County reservation. Relations with the Carolina Tuscarora appear to have been maintained during this period, even with the depressed numbers of community members at both locales; the surnames Rogers, Turner, Scholar, Seneca, and Wineoak appear on extant documents from both reservations and military records during the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. From a careful reading of those documents, a new phenomenon begins to emerge following the 1760s migrations: named Nottoway and Tuscarora *women* start appearing in official exchanges with the courts, state legislature, and tribal trustees. Of the thirty-five adult Nottoway listed in the 1773 annuity distributions, eighteen were women. Within ten years, Nottoway and Tuscarora women also began signing legal documents as consensual parties to tribal actions. Previously, only “great men,” “head men,” or “chief men” negotiated with outside parties. While matrilineal descent and residence characterized the internal organization of the Iroquoian communities, this shift in external representation was a significant departure from normative cultural practices, and likely signals the deterioration of some aspects of traditional Iroquoian socio-political organization (Woodard 2013:103-125).

The shift in demography also impacted the Nottoway’s ability to act as a corporate body in military affairs. Whereas during the French and Indian War the Nottoway and their relations fought as “tributary” “nations” for the Crown, during the American Revolution Southampton Indian recruits fought as individuals embedded within Virginia regiments. From a limited amount of data, the same situation appears to be true of the remaining Meherrin and Tuscarora in North Carolina. In contrast, the Iroquoians that removed to New York were identified during the war by their tribal town names, or as belonging to the “Oneida and Tuscarora.”

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However, in those landscapes, there was political division between British and American alliances (Boyce 1973:85-106; Dawdy 1994:116-119; Thomas 2013: Appendix 1).

The Nottoway soldiers fought from the beginning of the war, alongside whites, African Americans, and other Indians in the service of the Commonwealth, integrated within revolutionary Virginia's Regiments of Foot. One 1775 company within Col. David Mason's 15th Virginia Regiment was composed of men from multiple eastern Virginia counties, including Southampton and King William. Of the fifty-three privates counted at muster by May of 1777, nearly half of them may be associated with the Nottoway, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey tribes; of the Nottoway, James Woodson, James Gabriel, William Seneca, Joseph Turner, and Peter Marriot may be counted among these men. The unit was deployed to New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and saw action at the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. Service records of Nottoway during the war indicate:

- Peter Meritt/Mariot and Joseph Turner were among the casualties of 1777;
- "Charles Winoke," "Isaac Scollar" [5th Regiment], and "Robert Wainek" [6th Regiment] mustered in or near the Tuscarora reservation at Edenton, North Carolina;
- Isaac Scholar was killed at the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania, on October 4, 1777;
- John Woodson served his two-year enlistment and was discharged in February of 1778;
- Alexander Scholar mustered into the 4th Virginia Regiment and died in a hospital at New Windsor, New Jersey, on December 24, 1778;
- Alexander Quaker joined the 4th Virginia Regiment and was among the 5,000 American prisoners of war following the 1780 siege of Charleston, South Carolina (Revolutionary War Rolls).

Thus out of the families represented in the 1770s documents from the Nottoway Indian Town, half sent young men into the service of the American Revolution, and at least three of them lost family members during the conflict. Nearly fifty years later, the Nottoway reminded the Virginia General Assembly that they had served the Commonwealth during the War for Independence, losing one of their "chiefs" to the cause (LP William G. Bozeman 1824). Again during another theatre of war the Nottoway and Tuscarora had fought alongside each other, in service of the colonial and state governments to which they were tributary. As in the 1750s and 1760s, northern Iroquoian reconnections may also have been made with the previously removed Tuscarora in New York, as one Virginia journalist indicated, "many [Nottoway] joined the Tuscaroras, to whom they were related by language, and in 1776 emigrated north with them" (Mead 1832:127).

The Nottoway During the Era of the Early Republic, c. 1790-1830

Following the American Revolution only 25 Nottoway adults remained at Indian Town. Based on the language of the 1780s documents, the community was in difficult circumstances. Through war and removal, many had left; through intermarriage with whites and African Americans, others were struggling to be recognized as Nottoway *Indians*. Nansemond land sales appear to have been a temporary solution for income, as was a meager profit from the sale of small tracts within the former Circle reserve. However, by the 1790s the debt-to-income ratio was overwhelming for a small community accustomed to an infusion of young men's actions by war, hunt, and prowess – now depleted to a few adult males. As the 1772 leases came due on twenty-one year contracts, the remaining Nottoway men elected to sell the properties for a bulk sum, which could be invested in stock and, hypothetically, retrieve annual annuities from the sale. Thus in 1792 the Nottoway divested themselves of another 2,700 acres. Deeds were signed by the remaining chief men: William Gabriel, Littleton Scholar, James Woodson, Henry Woodson, Robert Wynoak, James Wynoak, and Thomas Turner.

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Possibly these men, or their nearly adult children, were destined for New York, or at least were contemplating voluntary removal. The Tuscarora chiefs returned at the beginning of the nineteenth century to retrieve their “people” from the south, and both the Virginia and North Carolina reservations were engaged in discussions with state governments and the New York Tuscarora (Palmer 1890:332-333; LP 1791, 1792, 1803).

The Last Nottoway-Tuscarora Removals, c. 1802-1803

A Tuscarora chief visited the Virginia Governor and future U.S. President James Monroe in the fall of 1802 with the intent of “undertaking to collect the scattered remains of my people” and with the “hope it will be convenient for you [Monroe] to have my business laid before your Legislature...” The chief bore the formal title of “Saguaresa,” or properly *Sekwariθre*, meaning the Turtle clan chief Spear Carrier. Visits to Richmond, Virginia, and Windsor, North Carolina, were undertaken to discuss Virginia-Carolina Iroquoian land claims and the migration of tribal remnants northward. The result of the diplomatic envoy was the 113-year lease of Tuscarora lands to North Carolina [which corresponded to the amount of time left on a 150-year lease from 1766] and a new North Carolina state treaty, as well as the emigration of “10-20 old families” from the south to New York. One Nottoway, Melbury Turner, immigrated to New York from North Carolina in 1802, indicating either a Meherrin or Tuscarora residence (Kappler 1913:701-704; Gatschet 1883-1884 MS 372-b; Palmer 1890:332-333; Parish Family Papers).

The Tuscarora political activity may have spawned an 1803 Virginia Nottoway Legislative Petition, in an effort to resolve the latter tribe’s land claims from their old Circle Tract survey and sales. The question of indigenous title clearly motivated an 1809 Virginia Attorney General’s opinion that “the [Nottoway] Indians’ claim under title paramount to every other – the aboriginal right to their soil before the rights of either the King or colony...or of the Commonwealth.” Judging by the response from Virginia’s Attorney General, Virginia’s Nottoway Indian lands were part of the Tuscarora discussion, but *Virginia* Nottoway tribal affiliation and autonomy were upheld as superseding any northern Nottoway claims presented. Despite these acknowledgements, some Nottoway removed without resolving land claims, leaving the future of the tribal preserve to their Virginia kinsmen who remained (LP Dec. 1803; Palmer 1892:69).

The number of Nottoway who left Virginia-North Carolina during the 1802-1803 Tuscarora removal and land leases cannot be determined. It was the last Iroquoian exodus from Virginia-North Carolina to New York, completing an effort started nearly ninety years earlier at the conclusion of the Tuscarora War. The migration reconnected related Iroquoians and through some formal process, socio-politically integrated Virginia-Carolina refugees with New York Tuscarora communities. Nottoway who removed during the waves of northern emigration c. 1720-1800 relocated along familial lines, so that entire clusters of relatives migrated out of the region and disappeared from Southampton County’s documentary record. Nottoway population decline from 200-300 individuals c. 1730 to approximately 50 in the 1770s reflects more than natural attrition; it infers the removal of lineages from the Nottoway community. A comparison of official tribal documents from 1770-1790s and 1808 confirms a shift in Nottoway surnames during the interim (Table 1), whereby through death, exogamy, or removal the community lost family segments. The Turner and Woodson families became the dominant and most numerous matrilineages during the nineteenth century (Ayer MS 3212; Byrd 1967:116; 1808 Cabell Papers; LP 1792).

Nottoway Surnames 1773	Nottoway Surnames 1808
--	Bartlett
Cookrouse	--
Gabriel	--

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Nottoway Surnames 1773	Nottoway Surnames 1808
John	--
Merriot	--
Pearch	--
Quaker	--
Rogers	Rogers
Scholar	Scholar
Step	Step
Swan	--
Turner	Turner
Wineoak	Wineoak
Woodson	Woodson

Table 1. Nottoway Town surname shift, 1773-1808.

Nottoway Leadership and Trustees

Whereas in previous decades Nottoway headmen were identified in formal dealings with the state, no specific leadership figures appear in turn-of-the-nineteenth-century documents. Rather, during this period of increased population loss, adults of both sexes signed documents on behalf of the community. This may have been due to the political restructuring required when Indian Town families removed to New York (DB8:97-99, 102-103, 153-154, 248-251; Mead 1832:127). Nottoway civil leaders emerged during this transitional era, but it is unclear the exact means by which authority was wielded at the community level.

Thus, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the remaining Nottoway were the only Iroquoian community in the region to maintain continuous control over a portion of their indigenous territory – 4,235 acres in Southampton County (see Map 4) (Briggs and Pittman 1995:11; Woodard 2013:125-126, 167). Few matrilineal Nottoway remained, and of those who did, each had either a “free negro,” “mulatto,” or “white” spouse, and their children were described variously as “Free Negro,” “Indian,” “Mulatto,” or “White.” After the c. 1803 removal, the Trustees distributed annual provisions for all seventeen remaining matrilineal Nottoway, regardless of age. The practice may have started in the 1790s (Rountree 1987:200). An 1808 document fixed the annuity due each Nottoway at £9 annually, for a total of £153. With the 1790s land sales earning thousands of pounds for the tribal remnants, and thousands more existing in the tribal trust and rents owed, continuing Nottoway complaints about Trustee accounting and resource allocation signaled a level of ongoing impropriety. Led by the “female chief” Edith “Edy” Turner, the Nottoway wrote the Virginia Governor and General Assembly and accused their Trustees of conflicts of interest, embezzlement, and mismanagement/misappropriation of Indian funds. Further, the Nottoway argued, the Trustees’ dysfunctional practices had been ongoing for years, but now with so few matrilineal Nottoway heirs remaining, Virginia should protect the tributary’s interests and call for an accounting of the tribe’s financial affairs (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808; Woodard 2013:160-162).

The General Assembly for the first time removed all of the Nottoway Trustees from office and ordered an audit of the tribal accounts. The language of the act suggests the Nottoway complained of abuse and requested “a settlement of their accounts, and...demand [to] recover from them [the former Trustees], or the executors or administrators of them, or any of them, whatever sum or sums of money or tobacco may be justly due from them” (Shepard 1836 III:346-347). A similar Trustee turnover again occurred in the 1810s, when Nottoway complaints again required the Commonwealth to regulate Trustee oversight of tribal affairs. The

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Trustees were found to be siphoning off Nottoway money and mismanaging lands, loans, and rentals to the advantage of white landowners. The documentary record of the specific outcomes of these Nottoway complaints remains unclear. By the late 1810s, yet another new set of Trustees was “recently appointed to manage their affairs” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Further investigation into the finances revealed “that upon a settlement with their former Trustee, a balance of five hundred & two dollars 28/100 was all that remained of the proceeds” (LP Dec. 16, 1818). Judging from the amounts of money being handled by the Trustees for land sales, land leases, and personal loans ten and twenty years earlier, some mismanagement was indeed at work. Nottoway dissatisfaction with their Trustees continued through the first half of the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by the tribe’s multiple court cases and legislative petitions (e.g. *CC Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; LP Dec. 11, 1821; Dec. 13, 1823).

The coveting of Nottoway land appears as a recurring theme in the extant Trustee discourse. By the 1820s, the Trustees recommended to the General Assembly that they, along with the Southampton Court, should be given the local authority to manage Nottoway affairs of finance and land. This arrangement would “prevent the necessary recurrence to your honorable body whenever any new state of things presents itself” and allow the Trustees and Court “to be vested with the authority to direct & superintend the management of the whole matter” (LP Dec. 10, 1821). The close relationship of the county court officials (clerks and judges), the Nottoway Trustees, lawyers, and the land-owning elite of Southampton County reflected the conjoined interests of the upper socioeconomic class. Freeing the Nottoway managers from legislative oversight lessened the burdensome bureaucracy of liquidating tribal assets. When reading the Nottoway documentary record, it becomes clear that the Trustees, county administrators, and local men of finance were in regular communication with one another. They consistently engaged the Nottoway on economic terms, with their primary attention focused on land and its unrealized potential for productivity.

The tributary relationship between the Nottoway and Virginia was a relic from the colonial era. The structural shift of Virginia-Indian relations from a state-focused relationship to one of local administration signals the deterioration of the Nottoway position within the political economy. It also demonstrates that conceptions of *separate peoples* from two societies were converging toward *peoples* within a single society. Indigenous title to land proved to be a hindrance for wrestling away localized control of the Nottoway assets. As long as the tribe held communal property they were recognized as tributary to Virginia; the state structure provided some level of protection for Indian Town. The Trustees, however, wielded the economic prowess and political power.

The Final Reservation Land Sales and First Allotment Petitions

During the years of 1818-1821, a group of recently appointed Trustees petitioned the General Assembly to sell Nottoway land needed for “furnishing them [the Nottoway] with the necessities of life.” The Trustees recommended selling all of the remaining Indian land on extensive credit. The Nottoway refused this proposal, as it would “completely dispossess several of your petitioners of their plantations & settlements on which they have resided for several years.” Acknowledging the “reduced state of their fund” the Nottoway counter-petitioned the “legislature to amend the former law...or to pass a new law authorizing...[the] sale of the land contained in the annexed plat containing one thousand acres” on “one or two years credit” (LP Dec. 14, 1819). The Nottoway again pleaded with the General Assembly to hold the Trustees accountable, “that the said Trustees be compelled to account annually with the executive of the Commonwealth.” The 1819 document was endorsed by the marks of twelve adult Nottoway, including Edith Turner at the top of the petition, and undersigned by literate John and William Woodson – the two head males of the Woodson matrilineage. The bill was deemed reasonable, drawn and passed in February 1820 (LP Dec. 14, 1819; Dec. 10, 1821).

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The legislative petitions filed during this period suggest competing views from the Nottoway and their Trustees about how best to stabilize the tribe's growing debt and financial security. Though thwarted from selling as much of the Nottoway land as recommended, the Trustees persevered and arranged to sell one-quarter of the tribe's 4,235 acres in four divisions (DB17:97-104; LP Dec. 16, 1818; LP Dec. 8, 1819; LP Dec. 14, 1819; LP Dec. 10 1821; LP Dec. 14, 1822). By the December 1821 legislative session, the Trustees again appealed to the General Assembly for more direct control over Nottoway affairs. Complaining that the interest of the new fund was insufficient to support the Nottoway material needs, the Trustees requested the county court be given full jurisdiction over Nottoway concerns, including annual accounting, the determination of individual tribal annuities, and the collection of debts owed the tribe. Within this scheme, the Trustees could recover their own existing expenses from the principal of the trust, allow their colleagues and land buyers to retain capital for their own uses, and thus influence the Nottoway estate's management at the local level (LP Dec. 10, 1821).

The General Assembly deemed the Trustee request "reasonable" in January of 1822. The Nottoway did not endorse the petition and instead found new legal representation to propose another arrangement. The tribe needed monies for new agricultural pursuits, and to support growing families, then upwards of thirty matrilineal members. Headed by the Woodson matrilineage, the Nottoway also sought cash to pay for mounting legal fees associated with pursuing the tribal estate, and for defense attorneys needed by individual tribal members. The 1821 Nottoway petition contained something very different, however, from any previous request: upon mutual agreement reached by the tribe "convened in Council," they requested "to have their lands divided amongst them" (LP Dec. 11, 1821).

The 1821 Nottoway petition offered an alternative to Trustee "superintendence." Headed by "the female chief" Edith Turner, the community argued they wanted a restriction placed on the potentially divided land, and thereby limit "the power to alienate the land allotted to each." The tribe, in concert with the Iroquoian lineage-system, requested the "first, second, third and fourth holders [generations] in succession" be prevented "from selling more than one-fourth part, each, of the quantity actually confirmed each individual." In this way, the growing Woodson matrilineage would see the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the 1810s newborns secure in their inheritance. For this consideration, the tribe requested "an extension of the time [for allotment] of minority among them and their descendants for a given number of years." Thus the Nottoway proposed reserving some allotments until those minors matured. Simply put, the Nottoway wanted to determine how much land was sold in the future, have full control over the principal amounts derived, and internally manage the distribution of those resources (LP Dec. 11, 1821).

To emphasize the Nottoway request, the chief and three other signatories signed the document with Iroquoian titles or personal names: *Wane' Roonseraw* or Edith Turner, *Kare' hout* or Polly Woodson, William Woodson, and *Te-res-ke'* or Solomon Rogers. Significantly, the 1821 Nottoway legislative petition is the only extant document of nineteenth-century Tidewater Virginia where Indian people use their indigenous language in political discourse. These individuals represented the leadership of the remaining Nottoway matrilineages, and notably, were two males and two females. One of the signatories of the 1821 petition, William Woodson, was also known as Billy Woodson or William G. Bozeman. He was the son of Nottoway Indian Nancy Woodson and Micajah "Mike" Bozeman, a White smallholding farmer. The name William G. Bozeman/ Woodson had a Quaker education and experience with his father's land dealings, both of which may have influenced this early Nottoway request for privatization and allotment. Bozeman/ Woodson was literate and had close association with his father's land purchases, monetary loans, and farming ventures. He also worked his own farm outfit,

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first as a laborer, and then as a landowner (C1820, Halifax County, NC; DB19:136, Northampton County, NC; OB1819-1822:433; PPTL1807-1821).

As well, the Nottoway had engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry for many years, selling crops, livestock, and home-manufactures in Southside markets. They worked as day laborers for monetary remuneration, purchased and hired enslaved African Americans to work Nottoway agricultural lands, and accumulated personal property. An 1820 visitor to Indian Town described headwoman Edith Turner as “extremely intelligent...although illiterate she converses and communicates her ideas with...facility and perspicuity.” While the Trustees dismissed Nottoway industry as not reaching the land’s full potential, outsiders suggested portions of the tribe’s “plantations” were “comfortable...[,] well furnished” and kept “in a good state of cultivation.” Onlookers to the 1819-1820 land sales remarked Indian Town “farming and other business” was managed “with discretion and profit” (*Gentleman’s Magazine* 1821:505-506; Cabell Papers 1808; Morse 1822:31; PPTL1782-1792, 1792-1806 and 1807-1821; OB1691-1713:83, Surry County, VA).

The Nottoway tribal petition for allotment was rejected by the General Assembly in January of 1822. The House approved the Trustees’ petition from the same year, but did not enable them to access any of the principal from the land sales [about \$4,000]. The Trustees claimed the available interest for annuities only amounted to about three dollars per Nottoway, which was not adequate to satisfy the “demands” of the community. The Nottoway recognized the situation: as long as the General Assembly maintained the Trustee system, the elites of Southampton could manipulate the financial trust.

Unsatisfied with the Trustees’ response and still wanting more control over the estate, the Nottoway considered their position. Another tribal petition went to Richmond in 1823. In this instance, only one tribal member applied for permission “to hold in fee simple so much land as he may be considered entitled to free from the control of the Trustees.” The genesis of the 1823 William G. Bozeman/ Woodson petition is not entirely clear. Additional tribal members did not endorse the application, nor did the Trustees; the petition was made by Bozeman/ Woodson as an individual. However, based on the previous Nottoway petition endorsed by four residents of Indian Town on behalf of the whole “Council” that also requested some form of allotment, the origins of the appeal can at least be partially attributed to the tribal community. In general, it can be said that allotting Nottoway land was a goal of some residents of Indian Town and a goal of some Southampton landowners. The exact configuration of the agents orchestrating Bozeman/ Woodson’s appeal is, however, unknown (LP Dec. 1823, Letter, Sept. 15, 1823).

The stipulations of the 1824 *Act Concerning William G. Bozeman* [Woodson] included:

- Nottoway individual rights to independent surveys;
- The ability individually to possess land allotments and monies from the tribal trust;
- The Nottoway were granted “the same power to sell convey or exchange the same, as free white persons of this Commonwealth possess and enjoy;”
- The land allotments and financial trust were open to “any descendant of a female of the Nottoway” who applied.

And thus, William G. Bozeman/ Woodson, a principal male of the dominant Woodson matrilineage successfully lobbied the General Assembly for the allotment of the Nottoway reservation (Acts Passed...Commonwealth of Virginia 1824:101-102).

Six years later, the first allotments were taken by leadership figures of Indian Town. Edith Turner petitioned the Southampton court for an allotment of reservation land on March 11, 1830; five days later

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William G. Bozeman/ Woodson made the same request (CC). The lands surveyed were “the most inferior” of the reservation and unoccupied by Nottoway residents. These actions suggest strategy on behalf of the community and coincide with residents of Indian Town participating more completely in the agricultural economy. At a deeper level, Nottoway agency speaks to an indigenous understanding of economic relationships and the constraints imposed upon them within Virginia’s legal system.

Trustee Jeremiah Cobb was appointed commissioner to establish the Nottoway’s interest in their property, which Cobb later reported was 3,109 acres with a value ranging from \$4 to \$10 per acre. Averaged, the total valuation of the tribe’s real estate was \$21,763. William G. Bozeman/ Woodson and Edith Turner, as “two of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” received a 1/27 division of the surveyed land, 209¼ acres in severalty each, plus a cash payment from the general fund of \$24.50 for 3.5 acres that were lacking from the survey. Bozeman/ Woodson and Turner made arrangements to sell the combined allotments to Henry Vaughan, a White planter who had purchased Nottoway lands from the Trustees between 1819-1823. The newly surveyed tract conveniently bordered Vaughan’s property along the Belfield Road, south of Indian Town, suggesting the community coordinated the survey, the sale, and the locations of the allotments. Vaughan paid \$1,160 to Bozeman and Turner for 416.5 acres in May of 1830 (CC May 1830; DB21:381).

The Nottoway During the Antebellum Era, c. 1830-1860

Following the first surveys and privatized allotments in 1830, the Nottoway settlement stretched along a winding dirt road about two miles in length. Known locally as the “Indian Road,” the path cut through thousands of acres of remaining tribal land “laying on the west side of the Nottoway River in what is known as Indian Town, Va” (DB27:470; LP March 16, 1830; WB21:613). The community was situated on the landscape in a similar pattern as had been the case in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Binford 1967:138-137, 162, 179), “in [a] relatively dispersed manner with houses and clusters of houses not generally aggregated” and they “probably lacked any great elaboration in corporate facilities, such as council houses” (Binford 1967:183, 196). Trustee Jeremiah Cobb described Indian Town during the period of the reservation’s allotment:

They are now settled in huts scattered pretty much over their whole tract, each settler having a sufficiency of land in cultivation for [their] family’s support; what they do not cultivate themselves, they by their trustees Rent out for them, there are no differences among them about their particular settlements, each claiming their arable land; the woodland being held in common among them (LP, Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821).

Nineteenth-century references to the community’s settlement give the impression of small farmsteads located on agricultural lands crossed by tracts of timber, generally referred to as the “Indian Woods.” The “Edith Turner settlement” was located south of the Indian path and Jack Woodson’s place was noted as a tract of land surrounding a “small log house situated on the Indian Road” (DB24:116; 25:62). A swath of timber “in the Indian Woods” was cut “on the land of Edwin D. Turner” (DB34:212) not far from the crops of “corn, cotton, peanuts and peas planted on the farm of...Alex Steward” (DB34:176). Families occupied a “small log cabin” or “a well furnished and comfortable cottage” where “horses, cows, and other domestic animals” were housed in pens, sheds, or arbors (Binford 1961:246; Morse 1822:31). Most households had apple, cherry, peach, or pear trees nestled between adjacent farmlands, and small creeks crisscrossed the “low lying” grounds in the Indian Woods (DB28:699; DB38:404). Along the river, several sections were known as “guts” where arteries of the Assamoosick Swamp joined the Nottoway River (DB28:699). Here, a “sain fence” or V-shaped rock weirs were seasonally fished by Indian Town residents, and the “Indian seine place” or “Indian fishing place”

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appeared as a landmark in period deeds and plats (CC March 4, 1854; DB8:98, 250; OB1835-1839:153; PB20:12; Trout and Turner 2006:45-46; Woodard 2013:211).

Nottoway Marriage and Descent

Indian Town contended with the demographic impact of the 1802-1803 Iroquoian removals and the challenges associated with non-Nottoway intermarriage. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there were no matrilineal Nottoway married to other matrilineally-descended Nottoway, but rather “their husbands and wives are chiefly free negroes” “mulatto” and “white” (Cabell Papers, July 18, 1808; LP, Cobb to Bowers, December 31, 1821). Between 1830 and 1850 at least two marriages between the remaining Nottoway matrilineages occurred, Edwin Turner to Betsy Woodson and Parsons Turner to Mary Woodson, as did one union between a matrilineal-descended Nottoway woman and an agnatic-descended Nottoway male, Patsy (Martha or Mary) Woodson to Alexander Scholar. From the latter Nottoway ancestry, Millie Woodson-Turner later accessed an allotment tract on Indian Town Road. These “inside” Indian Town marriages maintained clan and lineage rules, and demonstrate efforts to support and foster Nottoway solidarity within an increasingly narrow social position and shrinking Iroquoian demographic (Woodard 2013:231, 368-369, 370-377).

By the time of their reservation’s first allotment in 1830, challenges emerged for the Nottoway matrilineage system, as the children of Nottoway men with non-Nottoway women created an imbalance in the rights to community resources, in both spheres of socio-cultural practice and political economy. Iroquoian descent and the codified Virginia laws governing Nottoway resources stated allotments could be requested by “any descendant of a female of the Nottoway.” Thus, as a matrilineal Nottoway William G. Bozeman/ Woodson could receive allotment land and a share of the trust, but because he married a White woman, his children could not. His sister, Winifred Woodson-Bozeman passed her rights to her children, and in turn through one of the females, the descent carried to her granddaughter, Millie Woodson. This pattern reflected Indian Town residents increasingly orienting themselves as linked nuclear families and framing their external relations around farm production and labor exchange. Individual property ownership and personal finance became tied to small family interests, rather than communal compounds where resources were equally divided among matrilineage members. Depressed Indian population numbers necessitated marriages beyond Indian Town to surrounding areas; Indian Town economic relationships and business interactions also drew from the neighboring population (Woodard 2013:214-213).

Simultaneous to the internal demographic challenges, the Nottoway also were forced to navigate an increasingly complex legal code established to restrict the rights of non-whites, both enslaved and free. The latter groups were classified in the parlance of the era as “free negroes” or “free blacks,” but these individuals’ social, economic, and political mobility increasingly were restricted as whites grew ever more fearful of slave rebellions (among the most famous of such uprising, Nat Turner’s 1831 Rebellion, occurred in Southampton County). A person who was not enslaved but was believed to be at least partially of African descent would be classified as a “free negro” or “free black.” Manumitted slaves also were classified using these terms. The legal definition of these groups, along with terms such as “mulatto” and “quadroon,” attempted to categorize people based on their percentage of White versus non-White (typically African-descended) parentage. Furthermore, “free negroes” and “free blacks” generally were descendants of Indian and African or African American former slaves. These individuals represented manumissions or the successors of free and indentured mothers of African, European, or Indian descent. While not enslaved, this population was descended from coerced laborers in various forms and subject to the social, political, and economic prejudices of the period.

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White officials, ignoring the cultural identities of Virginia tribes, sometimes sought to classify Virginia Indians under one of these terms. The matter was of great importance as Whites often sought to deny “free negroes,” “free blacks,” and “free people of color” full equality. Thus, during the antebellum era, Nottoway Turner and Woodson matrilineage members were certified by the Southampton County Court as “not a free negro or mulatto,” but “persons of mixed blood” and “descendants of a female of the Nottoway Tribe of Indians” (e.g. OB18:320 [1837]; M22:169 [1864]). However, some of the individuals certified as “not a free negro or mulatto” were described in other documents as having one non-Nottoway “free negro” parent (LP John Turner 1837). Intriguingly, Virginia’s Attorney General upheld Nottoway rights as “tributary Indians,” despite tribal members meeting the “statutory definition [of] a mulatto” or “having one fourth or more negroe blood” (LP Parsons Turner 1838). Southampton County court orders relating to racial or legal definitions of Nottoway people were always certified “upon satisfactory evidence of white persons adduced to the Court” (OB18:320).

Nottoway Reservation Allotments of the Mid-Nineteenth Century

After the first period of Nottoway allotments from 1830-1840, a second wave occurred in 1847-1854 and a third in 1868-1871. The 1830-1840 divisions were surveyed and nearly immediately sold, repeating the previous Nottoway pattern of using land sales as a means of generating significant income. Possibly the revenue was distributed among matrilineages or collectively managed by the community leaders. Based on the allotment petitions and sales, collective community action is implied, rather than acts of individualism. The 1847-1854 allotments, however, took on a different character. The majority of property allotments from this later period were retained by tribal members and developed into smallholding farms managed by conjoined nuclear families. Land allotments were requested as group efforts, with matrilineage sibling sets or parallel cousins (e.g. Iroquoian classificatory siblings) leading the allotment initiatives. While small-producing Nottoway farms were flourishing, some tracts were sold within several years; property acquisition and sale could be a means to promote other agendas. One entire lineage segment, Taylor, relocated during this period, opting to timber their tracts, sell their shares, and remove to Richmond and Petersburg for wage labor opportunities. Importantly, Indian Town headman Edwin Turner purchased these allotment lands from those Nottoway planning removal (DB28:699), and thereby retained allotted land while enlarging his personal property (C1850-1860 Petersburg, VA; DB28:44, 357-358; Woodard 2013:258-259).

The matrilineal component of the Nottoway community requested allotments near the time of their adulthood, and of those who did not sell, they kept their personal tracts as individual property owners. Judging by the household composition and residence of allottees following the transactions, the funds from some land sales were reinvested in multi-generational, matrilineal, sibling-set farmsteads (C1850-1870; D28:306, 339).

The tribe again sued their Trustees in 1849-1852, in an attempt to recover missing funds and unpaid rents and annuities. The Chancery Court case was complicated by the death of former Trustees, but the Nottoway were eventually able to recover some of the funds, pursue new allotments, and request the appointments of new Trustees (CC *Indian Trustees vs. Cobb et al.*, 1849-1852; CO1832-1858:260-261; 273). No further proceedings against the former Trustees emerged before the Civil War. Based on a careful review of the documentary record, it is obvious the new Nottoway Trustees and their legal representatives were more careful and transparent with recordkeeping than previous generations. This development capped a period when, for decades, the Nottoway had continually resisted Trustee manipulation and paternalism, confronted their protectorates’ embezzlement, and actively sought financial control of their real and personal property. This pattern of struggle, resistance, accommodation, and acceptance, as documented in decades’ worth of legislative and judicial proceedings, represented the Nottoway struggle to retain cultural identity and autonomy. Following the Trustee court case, matrilineage segments consolidated their holdings more fully in small family farms.

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With the infusion of capital, more active participation in labor sharing, cash crop production, and individual farm development, Indian Town showed signs of prosperity during the decade before the Civil War.

“Indian Town” Farms, c. 1850-1860

Born c. 1831, Millie Woodson-Turner was one of the few residents of Indian Town whose parents were both of matrilineal Nottoway descent. Her mother called for her first allotment of Indian land in 1837, and received additional shares in 1840. Around the same time, one of the Turner men was the subject of an important court case in which the Attorney General of Virginia confirmed the Nottoway’s tributary status. From the records of that 1838 case, Parsons Turner’s matrilineal descent was confirmed, as well as some level of African ancestry, as he was described as “having one fourth or more negroe blood.” To clarify this apparent legal conflict, the Attorney General ruled:

to the case of [a] member of any of the tribes of tributary Indians although such member may be in the statutory definition a mulatoo...they are under the full powers of our laws, but it is in the character of members of a dependent nation of indians that their relation to the government is formed, and not their individual character as mulattoes... In their character of members of a dependent tribe of Indians the individuals of the [Nottoway] tribe have all the privileges of Indians. The fact that some of them may also be mulattoes should not deprive them of this privilege. The term mulatoo might by a liberal construction embrace them[.] But as the law should be strictly construed I cannot think that they are properly embraced in it (Sidney S. Baxter, Attorney General of Virginia, LP Parsons Turner, March 29, 1838).

Thus, the 1838 ruling recognized the Nottoway’s tributary status, as well as confirmed matrilineal descent as a means of identifying members of the tribe. This case, along with the aforementioned 1824 Bozeman Act, codified Indian rights and resources as linked to matrilineality. Only individuals who “descend from a female of the Nottoway” could access allotment lands or the financial trust. However, these orders also locked the community into a legal framework that would not allow flexibility in the reckoning of tribal resources. From 1824 onward, Virginia law, not Iroquoian cultural practice, dictated access to the Nottoway estate.

Commingleing Iroquoian and White cultural and legal traditions created complexities in everything from use of family names to accessing tribal resources. As an example, Winifred Woodson, also known as Winifred Bozeman, was sister of William G. Bozeman/ Turner, the 1824 allotment act petitioner. Winifred, like her brother William, was Nottoway on her mother’s side and had a White father. Winifred’s husband, however, was a non-Nottoway named Burwell Williams, variously described as a “free colored person,” “negro,” or “mulatto.” Thus, the children of Burwell Williams and Winifred Woodson/ Bozeman were matrilineal Nottoway, but were of African, Native American, and European descent. The use of multiple surnames reflects the conflict of matrilineal descent, patronymic surname use, and legal or common-law married name, depending on the context (Woodard 2013:367-370). Nottoway records of the period also include several females named “Patsy,” “Polly,” and “Mary,” which may be variations of a single person’s name or three individuals; regardless, all can be assumed *matrilineal* Nottoway, as one or two of these named individuals called for allotment land.

Genealogy of specific individuals was similarly complex as were patterns of land ownership, which tended to be organized by kinship patterns. Millie Woodson-Turner, for example, descended from Winifred Bozeman through one of Winifred’s daughters and carried the surname “Turner” through a father. Multiple Nottoway allottees carried the Turner surname, including Green Turner, Henry Turner, James Turner, John

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Turner, Parsons Turner, and William Turner. One of the possible families of Millie Woodson-Turner's origin was that of Parsons and Mary (Woodson) Turner, who raised a family along the main dirt road [modern Rt. 651] that cut through Indian Town. The allotments Parsons and Mary Turner received, along with all of the above-identified Turners, were in areas called the Indian Woods and Indian Outlet; these parcels were sold in the 1830s and 1840s. The Turner allotments were farther away from the Woodson farms, which were located within the middle of the reservation (Map 4). According to extant documents, what became the Woodson-Turner farm was along the northern side of the road, south of the Nottoway River, and in the northwest corner of the remaining undivided Nottoway reservation lands. The children of the Turner and Woodson allottees, as young adults, requested allotments and shares of the Nottoway trust during the 1850s Southampton County court proceedings, a period when the Nottoway exerted significant control over their real and personal estate. Three female sisters, Betsy, Millie, and Rebecca Turner requested Nottoway allotments between 1850-1852, as did their maternal kin, Caroline, Indiana, and Patsy Crocker, also sisters. These two sets of sisters descended through the Woodson-Bozeman matrilineage, with their respective mothers also being sisters. Millie Woodson-Turner established a cabin on allotment land sometime during the 1850s, adjacent to her mother and matrilineal kin. Next door were the farms of Millie's nearest relatives, Patsy Woodson and husband Thomas Crocker, and Martha/Patsy Crocker and husband Alexander Scholar (also known as Alex Stewart). Patsy Woodson could be classified as Millie's mother by Iroquoian custom, and Martha/Patsy Crocker as Millie's sibling (LP Plot of Indians Land 1, 125 acres, Nov. 18, 1850; Woodard 2013:258, 369).

Based on the configuration of the allotment surveys and distribution of land, the matrilineage segments, such as the Woodson-Turners, were conjoined as small farms that included the residential compounds of the matrilineage. The Nottoway farm "cabins" or "cottages" typically were surrounded by small agricultural fields that crisscrossed the Indian lands. The neighboring matrilocal farms had outbuildings of barns, corncribs, livestock sheds, smokehouses, and possibly privies, as well as small "dwelling houses," which housed "free colored" tenants. Chickens, hogs, cows, mules, and horses served the farms' residents in labor or sustenance. Completing each compound, ditches and fences outlined the fields and property divisions. House gardens and orchards provided the source for family table fare. Mid-century crop yields and income estimates suggest Nottoway farmers were competitive with their middling planter neighbors, and in some cases cornered market niches in swine, orchard, Indian Corn, and cotton production (C1850, 1860, 1870; Crofts 1997; DB 41:377; Kocher and Dearstyne 1954:108-110; Perdue, Barden and Phillips 1976:139-142; Woodard 2013:209-212, 274, 372, 376).

Indian Town's nearest property-owning neighbors from 1850-1860 included James and William Gray, and Susan Lamb, all of whom were members of the White middling planter class, occupying and developing smallholding farms from previously sold Nottoway lands. Nearby, Charlotte Bryant owned Rose Hill (NRHP 1979), a prosperous Southampton plantation of the county's upper economic tier (Rose Hill also occupies the site of the old Indian villages of Warekeck and Ronotough). The Grays, Lambs, and Bryants were all slaveholders, but also relied on hired laborers and family members to work seasonally in the agricultural fields and orchards and to cull livestock. The Nottoway and their farm neighbors also relied on hiring enslaved African American persons from slave-owners during the decades leading up to the Civil War. Enslaved individuals were not compensated for their labor. Rather, the owner of the enslaved person was paid for the enslaved laborer's activities, toil, and contribution to production. At times, this arrangement included "shared labor," whereby one free person would contribute labor or collateral in exchange for enslaved labor. Extant records indicate only a few Nottoway individuals themselves owned slaves, but hires and labor exchange of enslaved African Americans were common practice. As well, Indian Town residents contributed much of the hired labor to neighboring middling farms and plantations (Woodard 2013:218-223, 302).

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Evidence does not suggest Millie Turner owned any enslaved people, but her neighboring relative Martha/Patsy Stewart owned one enslaved person near the time of the 1850s allotments. Martha's husband Alexander Scholar-Stewart, with his brothers Jordan and Charles, were among the regularly hired plantation hands. Tax records and census schedules from the era also reveal a fairly stable, but seasonal, rental population of laborers in and around Indian Town. These individuals were categorized as "free colored people," and may or may not have been of Nottoway descent, although some, like Alexander Scholar-Stewart, were descendants of Nottoway men (DB26:395; PPTL1807-1820; SCLP1822; Woodard 2013:219, 221, 227, 304, 317-319, 375-377).

In terms of agricultural production, Nottoway antebellum farms at Indian Town shared characteristics with other local smallholders and plantations. Mid-nineteenth century Nottoway agricultural production became geared toward sale and export, whereby subsistence essentials, such as coffee, flour, salt, and sugar, could be purchased from the derived income. The Nottoway sold livestock and agricultural produce, and had long ago become reliant on the mercantile goods that pervaded most communities of the American South. By the time of the Civil War, Southampton's Indian Town was completely connected by railroad, planked roads, and all manner of county infrastructure to the markets of the Atlantic. In turn, connections to urban centers like Norfolk, Petersburg, Portsmouth, and Richmond, Virginia, became increasingly important. Shipping and export lanes for farm produce, importation of finished goods, and, in some cases, wage jobs connected Nottoway farmers to the surrounding economic centers.

In 1853-1855, Southampton cotton cultivators raised money to improve the overland road to Petersburg, including a private bridge over the Assamoosick Swamp, which at its lower extremities emptied into the Nottoway River at Indian Town. Individual subscribers agreed to provide financing "for the benefit of the neighbor hood" in "building a bridge across the Asamossock swamp." This contract included twenty-four farmers, two of whom were Nottoway-affiliated men. Significantly, the two Indian Town farmers contributed as much or more capital than their White contemporaries, and were the only non-Whites to help fund the construction (Crofts 1992:17; 1997:53-54).

During this era, Nottoway produce for market included cotton, fodder, hay, Indian corn, oats, peas, and potatoes; the collective Indian Town farmsteads had over 300 acres engaged in agriculture in 1860. On average, the antebellum community annually produced 2.3 bales of cotton, 837 bushels of corn, 137 bushels of peas, 38 bushels of Irish potatoes, 167 bushels of sweet potatoes, and 24 tons of hay. Domestic animals at Indian Town included cattle, chickens, hogs, horses, milch cows, mules, and sheep. Some animals were used for farm labor and table fare, but others were raised for market. Similar to the agricultural produce, Nottoway hog ownership in 1850-1860 reflected a cash-cropping pattern. Records indicate Nottoway households owned twenty, thirty, forty, and over fifty hogs during a given season. Combined with agnatic (i.e., male-descended) Nottoway spouses and their siblings and siblings' descendants, Indian Town's 1860 passel was enumerated at 134 hogs, with those culled valued at \$600, all compounded on reservation allotment or tribally-owned land. Notably, Nottoway cash-crop swine livestock and husbandry surpassed all neighborhood plantations' production (AG1850:423-424, 433-434, 443-444; AG1860:416-417; Woodard 2013:303, 313-315).

Growing Indian corn was one cropping staple with continuity to the Nottoway past. The community's relationship to maize growing remained constant through the colonial period and references to nineteenth-century Nottoway agricultural production begin with corn: "The quantity of land occupied by the Tribe is about 144 acres, all high land, the greater part is commonly planted with corn..." (Cabell Papers July 18, 1808). Shucked corn was stored in corncribs while still on the cob; corn intended for human use was shelled before being ground into meal. Thus, Nottoway corn took several forms during the antebellum era. Corn stalks and

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tops were used as blade fodder for livestock, as was whole corn on the cob, as loose corn kernels for hominy, and as grinding corn for cracked corn, grits, and meal. According to the extant documentary record, fodder production was a constant and increasing Nottoway pursuit. Beyond corn and hay, Indian land and allotments yielded 103 bushels of oats in 1860, more than tabulated for Nottoway farms at any other time. Increased production of fodder and grain coincided with the enlargement of Indian livestock holdings, but also reflected bales, barrels, and bushels for potential markets in Petersburg or Southampton (AG1860:416-417).

Millie Turner's sister Martha Stewart and husband Alexander used their crops, allotment land, and livestock as securities on credit for agricultural pursuits. Concerning land adjacent to the Woodson-Turner homestead, the Stewart records provide a window into the specifics of Nottoway farms during the midcentury. One contract inventoried Alexander Stewart's "twenty head of hogs and increase[,] 3 head of cattle & increase...[his] present growing crop of corn[,] fodder[,] peas & potatoes & also five barrels of corn & one thousand pounds of fodder now in hand...". In another transaction, Stewart used "one fourth of [his] crop of corn[,] fodder and peas now growing on [his] wife's land" and one-third of another tract's "crop of corn[,] fodder & peas..." to settle existing debt – some of which was owed to another Nottoway. The court provided the forum to secure the credit and schedule an auction to "sell the...crop of corn fodder and peas to the highest bidder for cash" (DB26:396; DB27:430).

Cash cropping for the demands of the market diversified the Nottoway's agricultural-economy, and shaped the routines and choices of Indian Town's farmers. Based on the evidence, one may argue the conjoined Nottoway farms were beginning to show levels of prosperity during the years prior to the Civil War. Allotment lands, such as that of Millie Turner and her siblings, were retained and developed into income-producing agricultural ventures. A careful reading of Southampton County's deed books and court records suggests cycles of debt and repayment were part and parcel of the antebellum political economy. As property owners, the Nottoway replicated the farming operations of their neighbors, including financial liens and farm loans, and more intensely participated in the cash-crop economy of the region. At the beginning of the 1860s, Indian Town had lost a substantial amount of their reservation, yet the tribe retained nearly 725 acres of communal land and a small financial trust. Like the Millie Woodson-Turner homestead, there were hundreds of acres in individual Nottoway allotments adjacent to the tribal lands.

Impacts on the Nottoway from the Civil War through Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction, c. 1860-1900

The Civil War

The brief ten-year period of Nottoway economic stability and increase was destroyed as a result of the 1861-1865 Civil War. Like Southamptons of all socioeconomic classes, "they were just struck down, as was everybody else, by the war...there was deep deprivation and poverty" (Friddell 1978:2, 6). With emancipation and the influx of thousands of freedmen and freedwomen into the labor market, the Nottoway allottees struggled to resituate themselves as competitive wage-laborers and smallholding property owners. Indian "certification" no longer carried the same social and political status as during pre-Civil War times, only an attachment to undivided tribal property. During Reconstruction, the last Nottoway allotments were made, as Indian Town families attempted to recover from economic diminishment, boost farm income, and socially distinguish themselves as individuals within the South's transforming, but still White-dominated, society.

While no significant Civil War battles were fought in Southampton County, the loss of county resources in support of the war effort was significant. Confederate requisitions drained away White labor for military service and enslaved African Americans' labor had appropriated much of the county's productive agriculture

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and animal husbandry. One period observer noted Southampton's "center of civilization, refinement & wealth" had been rendered "poor and desolate" by 1862. Food shortages became a severe problem across the county as Robert E. Lee's army claimed all farm produce "except for those that were actually necessary for the sustenance of life" (Crofts 1992:201-203). The county court empowered magistrates to consolidate existing private property and stock, in order to redistribute stores to families that had little or no food, including the farms in and around Indian Town. Children of Nottoway reservation allottees who lived through the conflict recalled, "when the soldiers came" through the "fields" along the Nottoway River. Countywide loss of property and provisions were substantial among all segments of Southampton society (Friddell 1978:2, 6; Parramore 1978:157-177). Descendants of Nottoway reservation households recalled their elders "talked of the old days, when life was hard following the Civil War" and that Indian Town residents "got along...without much." Susanna Turner Claud, daughter of allottee Millie Woodson-Turner reportedly stated, "we lived off the land" but "supplies were very short" (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

The war had multiple and long-lasting economic impacts on the Nottoway. Wages dropped as property owners attempted to bargain with freedmen and freedwomen for annual pay, share crop tenancy, and other sustenance in exchange for labor. Federal government-installed political officials oversaw the county's administration, including the Freedmen's Bureau who assisted the regulation of freed people's contracts with property owners. Smallholding and plantation assets, whether tied up in Confederate currency or bonds – or the antebellum era's calculation of the monetary worth of enslaved humans – were wiped out. Land values stagnated or depreciated and many creditors were unable to recover extended credit lines or extensive debt. The default of many loans dried up local sources of capital. The war's economic devastation required Nottoway farmers to leverage much personal property in order to maintain existing agricultural operations (CC *Bozeman vs. Lanier Bros.*, 1869; Crofts 1992:221-223; DB30:408).

Reconstruction Era

Of the records from Southampton's Reconstruction era labor contracts, no Nottoway appear, suggesting they maintained a level of separation from the property-less Whites and Blacks, as well as semi-independence from the plantation owners. A Nottoway affine (or spousal) family, however, did maintain an 1866-1867 contract with nearby Rose Hill. Described as a "mulatto" and born a free man, Thomas Hill worked the land at Rose Hill during and after the Civil War, and had a wife among the enslaved workforce. Rather than accepting supplies for labor payments, as did most freed people, following the war, Hill received \$90 per year in wages. So too, by 1869 Nottoway headman Edwin Turner had rented some of his arable allotment land to James T. Hill, a White tenant farmer. Turner, Martha Stewart, and Patsy Crocker's allotment farms all returned figures for agricultural production in 1870, indicating some level of recovery among the allottee families. One may argue that the Nottoway farms had weathered the Civil War, and were successfully navigating Reconstruction. The community members appear to have utilized the court system, personal property collateral, and financial relationships with middling and upper class Whites to fund and stabilize their farms. During a period when White vigilantes were terrorizing Southampton County's freed people, the Ku Klux Klan organized and demonstrated in the county, and freed persons were attacked and driven from their homes, it is notable that the Nottoway appear not to have been targets of the pervading racist radicalism. Possibly there was an attempt to distinguish themselves as a particular kind of people, or others identified them as a separate "Colored" class from the recently freed. As an example, for the first time in the Southampton County census returns, the majority of Nottoway allottees, and their children, were identified as Indians in 1870 (AG1870:1-2; C1870; Crofts 1992:261; FB Register of Contracts 1866-1867, Jerusalem, Southampton County, Labor Contracts, Indenture and Apprenticeship Records, 1865-1872).

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The Nottoway continued to build alliances with the segment of Southampton's Black population who were free before the war, as well as Black individuals of distinction, such as Reconstruction officials, politicians, and Baptist preachers from newly organized Black churches. The Freedmen's Bureau saw an opportunity at Indian Town for Virginia's Reconstruction public schools initiative, although a lack of funding and prejudice were seen as barriers to progress in Southampton. The Freedmen's schools were not well received by Whites in the local counties, to the extent of arson and violence against adult students and teachers. In 1868, Southampton Bureau agent Mortimer Moulden reported from Jerusalem (today's Courtland) a county of resource shortfalls, extreme prejudice and violence, and a great resistance from White residents to U.S. military occupation and Reconstruction. Moulden stated that there was significant interest among the "Colored People" in creating day schools, but much difficulty in getting support and keeping the fledgling schools open. Beyond funding, the most challenging obstacle for Moulden was "a large class of people, designated 'poor whites' who are ignorant and superstitious, and are hostile to the education of the colored people, perhaps fearing they may outstrip them in the race of life." Nonetheless, besides other schools at Black Creek, Franklin, Zion, and Nottoway Station, Moulden was hopeful of "getting a school in the 'Indian Woods.'" By March of 1869, "a school [was] started at the 'Indian School House'" (FB Reports and Records, 1866-1868 [Field Office Records, Jerusalem]).

A philanthropic organization, the New York Friends, offered charity to fund several Virginia schools, including ones in neighboring Southside counties and Richmond. Situated on Indian allotment lands, the "Turner's Hill School" was adjacent to the Millie Woodson-Turner farm, on the precipice sometimes called "Clay Hill" or "Red Hill" in county records. Nottoway headman Edwin Turner was listed as owning the building that housed the school. The school's teacher was Harriet A. Gregory, daughter of the Black politician and preacher Joseph Gregory – a leader of Southampton's Reconstruction era Republican Party – and candidate for the House of Delegates in 1869 (Crofts 1992:246; DB41:377; FB Education Records Roll 15, Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]; Paramore 1978:189).

Harriet A. Gregory reported in April of 1869 that she had thirty-two students in attendance, six over the age of sixteen, and seven who were advanced readers. Twenty-eight pupils could "spell, and read easy lessons," and a few students were engaged in arithmetic, geography, and writing. The Gregory reports indicate that the Freedmen's Bureau and New York Friends jointly funded the Indian Town school, but that funding was irregular, rent was not always paid, and transportation not supported. After the first months of the school's opening, Gregory stated that "my scholars ar[e] doing as well as any one could expect them to do." The Bureau provided Gregory's board; she received about \$8 per month. Nottoway headman Edwin Turner received \$10 per month as the rental fee from the New York Friends. By October, Gregory reported that the county sentiment toward the "Turner Hill School" was "Favorable indeed" and that "our school is getting along very well & prosperous." Amanda S. Montier transferred to Turner's Hill in the fall of 1869 and continued as the instructor in 1870 (FB Field Office Records [Jerusalem]; FB Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]).

The number of Nottoway allottee children who consistently attended the school is not known. Gregory and Montier's enrollment fluctuated throughout the year, and attendance waxed and waned with the crop cycles. The numbers of enrolled students hovered on average at forty, but only about thirty regularly attended. In the lull between crop ripening and harvest, enrollment increased to sixty with fifty-two consistently counted present; when the cotton was ready in October and November, attendance of the children dropped by half. Of the children who attended the Indian Town school, fewer than twenty were "Free before the War" and only about a dozen of these pupils regularly attended. The regular scholars correspond to the number of Nottoway allottee children in the 1870 Indian households, nearly all of whom, including adults in their twenties, were

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notated in the county census as “attended school within the year.” In contrast, not all of the neighboring White or Black children were recorded as having recently attended school. Millie Woodson-Turner and Morefield Hurst sent their children to the Turner’s Hill School, which was within literal sight of the family’s farmstead (C1870; FB Field Office Records [Jerusalem]; FB Superintendent of Education for the State of Virginia [Southampton]).

Post-Reconstruction Nottoway Families

Near the time of the Turner division of tribal assets, one of Millie Woodson-Turner and Morefield Hurst’s daughters, Susanna Turner, also known as Susanna Hurst, became involved with a local man who had ties to the labor community at Rose Hill. James Thompson Claud was raised by the “free issue” Tom Hill, his mother being Hill’s common law wife Sarah Claud, a freedwoman on the nearby plantation. The term “free issue” was used prior to the Civil War to identify individuals born free, or who were manumitted, and issued papers confirming their freedom. Descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner recalled Tom Hill continued to identify himself as a “free issue” for decades after the Civil War. The descendants suggested it was a mark of distinction, for which Hill was proud to claim, many years beyond Reconstruction. James Thompson Claud’s biological father was a White man, Dr. E.C. Barrett; Claud had a half-brother through E.C. Barrett, named Charlie Barrett, who also married a Nottoway matriarch, Annie Wiggins. Susanna Turner-Hurst and James Thompson Claud began a family at this time, and like Morefield Hurst, Claud remained a non-resident of the Woodson-Turner allotment household, laboring on nearby agricultural properties for White planters. James Thompson Claud and Susanna Turner-Hurst married “in the year of 1880 August the 18 at seven o clock at night,” and their first child, Nannie Turner-Claud, was born to the couple in October of 1880 (Claud Bible, 1880-1904; Woodard Field Notes).

James Thompson Claud was engaged in the community and was close to his sisters, fathered by Thomas Hill. Along with his half-brother, one of the sisters, Adeline Hill, also married a Nottoway allottee descendant, John H. Williams. Thus, one can see an emerging, continuing, and progressive Nottoway relationship with free Black and formerly enslaved individuals during the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras – relationships framed by aspects of social difference and similarity. Claud was “half White,” and his descendants recalled that he was “a very proud man, who stayed dressed up,” and thought of himself “as better” than some people; that he was a “particular” father and “ran the other children off of the [allotment] property” as a “protective measure...he did not want his children to mingle” with other “certain children.” Claud was known as educated, a preacher, and to visit multiple Baptist churches in the vicinity of Jerusalem (today’s Courtland). His descendants described him as a “short [man] with a mustache, coal black hair, and rosy light skin” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

James Thompson Claud became more and more a part of the 1880-1890 Indian Town agricultural cycle, and eventually a permanent resident. He appeared in the 1880 agricultural census working fifty acres for a share of the produce, possibly in association with Rose Hill. Neighborhood allottee families with farm production, such as James Artis, William Artis, John K. Britt, James Robert Crocker, Martha Stewart, Edwin D. Turner Jr., and John B. Williams all owned their land, or were spouses of Nottoway allottees (AG1880:24-26).

Private property as collateral, farm ownership, and a small tract of tribal land continued to distinguish Indian Town residents from Southampton’s property-less masses, but social divisions with other non-Whites became increasingly blurred. Competition among landless White and Black laborers increased. The social divisions between people “free” before the Civil War and those recently emancipated underwent realignment during Reconstruction. The significant identification of the Millie Woodson-Turner household and other

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Nottoway allottees as “Indian” in the 1870 Census was not repeated in the 1880 Census, indicating that for a brief time following emancipation, county officials distinguished Nottoway individuals from others with African ancestry. The separation of Nottoway peoples from the wider Southampton County Black community, however, would dissipate with the allotment of the final tracts of tribally held lands in the 1870s and 1880s. Additional forms of “otherness” would come to replace a strictly “Indian” notion of peoplehood; moral character, church membership, civic leadership, deportment, economic success, education, and property ownership would all play important roles in defining who were socially-related peoples (C1870-1880; Crofts 1992:218-234; Rountree 1987:211-212; Woodard 2013:334-335; Woodard Field Notes).

The foregoing discussion indicates that aspects of the dominant society’s racialized stratification and social restrictions placed upon Southampton County peoples were observed and incorporated at the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead. While not exclusive of a particular race, owing to the complexity of the biological origins of the family, the Woodson-Turner choices made in marriage-mate selection, social distinctions, and the “particular” practices of family members suggest forms of social segregation based on class distinctions. The choices individuals made were not unique to the Millie Woodson-Turner family, but their preferences and actions speak to a wider phenomenon of social stratification, both in class and racial cleaves of late nineteenth-century Southampton County.

Post-Reconstruction Nottoway Finances

As the postwar economy slowly recovered, individual allottees continued to use their personal property for extensions of credit and long-term loans, entering some Nottoway households into a cyclical credit dependency with their White neighbors. The Southampton records of the 1880s and 1890s indicate allotment lands were leveraged as security on debts, sold, and repurchased multiple times (Rountree 1987:212). Following the 1878-1881 division of the last tracts of the Nottoway tribal estate, cooperation among allottee households for labor and material resources became paramount. In an 1883 example, Indian Town men, mostly Nottoway males John K. Britt, James Robert Crocker, William Artis, Augustus Wiggins, and Thomas Hill, along with their brother-in-law James Thompson Claud, collaborated on the sale of a \$100 “grey mare.” The expensive mare was likely raised stock for horseracing, a well-known Southampton activity of the nineteenth century (DB37:190-191). The economic collaboration of these related men suggests an increasing importance of male labor and resource pooling among Indian Town residents, despite the matrilineal organization of households and property ownership.

The period’s finances of “credit” and “trust” collateral can be seen in the records of Millie Woodson-Turner and the neighboring allotment farms. In 1875 Millie “Bozeman alias Turner,” used one tract [70 acres] and another allotment she controlled [48 acres] as security on a loan from land speculator Robert S. Pope (DB 37:517). Millie Woodson-Turner repaid her 1875 loan from R.S. Pope in March of 1884, and in turn the same day leveraged two allotments in trust with William B. Shands for a long-term loan from E.J. Gardner, a White farmer and grocer. Familiar with the Nottoway, Shands had acted as the lawyer who facilitated the final allotment disbursements to the children of Edwin D. Turner and their spouses. During the same spring as Millie Woodson-Turner’s loan, in May of 1884 Martha Stewart also entered into a loan with Ezra J. Gardner. Instead of using her allotment as collateral, Stewart utilized a future crop, planted with the assistance of Hugh Darden, husband of her first cousin Emma Wiggins. For an advance of \$150 and “fertilizer and provisions,” Stewart and Darden made a lien on “all the crops of cotton, corn, field peas, fodder, potatoes, and other crops growing on the land of Martha Stewart for the year 1884.” The parties were to “deliver the said crops...in good merchantable order to....Ezra J. Gardner at his store in Jerusalem” (DB37:619). However, Stewart still owed Gardner \$74.25 by the end of the season, and she was forced to use her personal property as security on another

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loan to repay the debt. As trustee, William B. Shands agreed to clear Stewart's debt, in exchange for the rights to two allotment "tracts lying in the Indian Woods," as well as "one yearling steer, two sows & three pigs & three shoats [and] all her growing crops of cotton, corn & field peas" (DB38:404). By 1890 the Scholar-Stewart family had lost both tracts of land, combined about 100 acres, to unpaid debt. As well, a 48-acre allotment that Millie Woodson-Turner used as collateral in 1875 and 1884 was lost due to "taxes" by 1889, although her second loan was paid in full by January of 1903 (DB37:517-518; DB41:377; DB43:324).

The Nottoway Reservation Descendant Community: Changing Designations

Southampton County residents' social perspectives about the Nottoway during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries vacillated between recognizing some of them as "Indians" of the "Nottoway Tribe," and grouping them collectively under the "colored" category as "negroes." Others recognized the community as "mixed bloods – none pure...in the vicinity of Jerusalem, belonging to the Nottoway tribe." Emic descriptions of the Indian Town kindred, provided by Millie Woodson-Turner's elderly grandchildren during the 1970s, offers a window into the complexity of the community's appearance and biological roots. Woodson-Turner was described as having "long hair down to her waist," as "a stout, brown skinned woman," but also as "a full blooded-Indian with red skin." Her daughter Susanna Turner Claud was remembered as a small-framed woman, "light skinned," or "brown skinned with pretty long hair and tall," "a long thin face, with a big nose, high cheekbones and little legs." Long hair with a "grey streak" marked her older years (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Outside of Southampton County, there was a growing academic interest in the study of American Indian culture, driven in part by the rise of anthropology as a scholarly discipline and the emergence of American museums. The end of the nineteenth-century Great Plains Indian wars also fueled this interest, as scholars mobilized to study the cultures of "the vanishing Indian race," then thought confined to western reservations. Researchers, many of whom were located in eastern urban centers, were further concerned with the "salvage" of culture from American Indian tribes long marginalized by the previous centuries of culture contact. In 1889, the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) circulated research flyers throughout Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia in search of multiple Indian tribal remnants, archaeological sites, Indian place names, and names of people identified as Indian in each of the states' counties.

According to the flyer responses, the Nottoway were recognized by Carolina and Virginia residents, as well as were a number of Iroquoian place names. BAE researcher James Mooney handwrote an additional query on the Southampton circulars, "Any Nottoways speaking any of the language?" The responses indicated "no," the "Indian language lost," but multiple people recognized the Nottoway families of Edwin Turner, John Williams, Robert Joyner, the location of the old "reservation," and "the Nottoways...village or town...some three miles west of Jerusalem now known as Courtland." However, those individuals "of mixed Indian blood," who "belong to the Nottoway tribe," were also described as "very few in the county." It is noteworthy that county residents only identified males affiliated with Indian Town, thus overlooking the *matrilineal* organization of linked Nottoway farms, such as that of Millie Woodson-Turner. Most respondents referred the BAE to the tribe's former lawyer, William B. Shands, who had facilitated the last distributions of land in 1878-1881, and acted as the trustee for Millie Woodson-Turner and Martha Stewart's loans several years before. Shands reported to Mooney:

some few years since under the law I obtained a decree of the court dividing the residue of the tribal lands among those indians who still had an interest in them[.] I think there was some ten of them who received shares[.] And you may say this was an end of the Nottoways as a tribe (William B. Shands to James Mooney, June 30, 1889 in Mooney MS 2190).

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While Shands personally knew Nottoway allottees and recognized the legal rights of the community and their specific descent from the historical Nottoway, he disparaged the tribes of “Eastern Virginia” as “now extinct, having intermarried with negroes until there are no pure bloods left.” Shands thus identified his Nottoway acquaintances as “negroes and very poor” (CC *Edwin D. Turner et al. v. William Turner et al.*, 1881-1885; Mooney MS 2190).

Shands’ race-based view pervaded most outside observations of Nottoway descendants during the next century. However, other reports indicate the community’s Nottoway affiliation was recognized, as evidenced by the 1889 BAE circular responses. In another example the following year, the July 28th edition of the *Alexandria Gazette* offered “Virginia News,” in which it stated “John Williams, the eldest of the remaining Nottoway tribe of Indians, was at court at Boykins last week. He is seventy-four years old, hale and hearty and works on his farm every day.” The *Gazette* notice was a rare public statement from the 1890s; official Southampton County records pertaining to the Nottoway eventually tapered off during the twentieth century. Those identifying documents usually appeared in relationship to further land divisions of allotments, deeds of sale for timber or privatized land, tax liens and delinquencies on allotments, and inheritance cases. Recorded references included the “Indian Woods,” the “Indian Road,” “the Nottoway Tribe of Indians,” and “Indian Town,” but rarely were twentieth-century individuals described as “Nottoway” or “Indian” in official Southampton documents (Chancery OB14:331; DB104:251; Trust DB8:117; Woodard 2013:336-338).

However, the personal stories of Southampton residents were less restrictive in social conversations, and easily accessed upon inquiry. Multiple contemporary sources referenced the Nottoway descendants of Southampton County living along Indian Town Road [Rt. 651] during the twentieth century (Binford 1964; Boyce 1978; Calvin Beale pers. comm. 2006; Commonwealth of Virginia 1983; Gilbert 1946; Painter 1961; Parramore [1978] 1992; Speck n.d.; Stanard 1925, 1928; Rountree 1969-1973, 1973, 1979).

Among those personal recollections was the “small farm” of Millie Woodson-Turner and Suzanna Turner Claude; that the “Turner family still lives on this road [Rt. 651] and the Claude family is very large.” Others were “scattered all over the county” but the “reservation which they occupied” was clearly known to residents, “Our road got its name from what it implies – Indian Town Road. The Indian town and settlements were located here” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977).

Jim Crow and Urbanization, c. 1900-c. 1960

By 1900, James Thompson Claud and Susanna Turner Claud had taken over the farm of her parents, and lived alongside the other remaining adult children of Nottoway allottees. The couple worked the arable land in cotton, peanuts, and other crops for market and table fare, as well as rented some of the property to tenants. Millie Woodson-Turner and Morefield Hurst, then in their 60s, appear to have taken up residence in one of the adjacent dwellings on the allotment lands. Woodson-Turner was listed in the 1900 census as the house’s owner, while Hurst was classified as “a lodger.” Based on the order of the census households and other records, the Claud occupation of the farm “in the bend” of Indian Town Road is certain, but the location of the second house occupied by Woodson-Turner and Hurst is less clear. Millie Woodson-Turner’s previous use of an adjacent allotment of forty-eight acres is suggestive of the locale, as this was the site of several tenant buildings (Map 7). James Thompson Claud repurchased three allotment tracts of nearly 200 acres in 1903, lost for debt by Nottoway descendants during the 1890s. The parcels were contiguous to the Millie Woodson-Turner allotment. Combined, at the beginning of the twentieth century the Millie Woodson-Turner farmstead, which encompassed

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the James and Susanna Turner Claud farm, equaled approximately 350 acres, all from Nottoway allotment lands. The farm included the lands previously allotted to Caroline Bozeman (41 acres in 1851), Indiana Bozeman (50 acres in 1853), Patsy Bozeman (48 acres in 1851), Millie Woodson-Turner (64 acres in 1853), Lamb Bozeman (71 acres in 1868), and Lydia Bozeman (75 acres in 1871) (see Map 5).

As Susanna Turner Claud was a resident of her mother's farm through the 1880s, the Claud family's growth appears to have occurred in that locale, with Susanna's parents Millie Woodson-Turner and Morefield Hurst relocating to a neighboring dwelling to accommodate the increasing household, the seniors' advancing age, or some other domestic reason. William P. Turner, Susanna's brother, eventually incorporated their parents into his home, which was also adjacent as a tenant house on an old allotment off the "Indian Road" (C1900-1910). James Thompson and Susanna Turner Claud had ten of sixteen children live into adulthood, born during the 1880s-1900s:

Nannie	born Oct. 1880	
Mattie	born Oct. 1882	
Sarah	born May 1885	(also known as Lovey)
Lila	born Sept. 1886	(also known as Tigie)
Arthur	born circa 1888	(also known as King Arthur or Boss)
Addie	born Dec. 1891	
Virgie	born Dec. 1895	
Lilly	born Dec. 1897	
Joshua	born Nov. 1899	(also known as Josh)
Alice Rosetta	born circa 1904	(also known as Ett)

The Claud Farm

The Millie Woodson-Turner homestead became known as the "Claud Farm," however, it retained much of its nineteenth-century character during the first decades of the twentieth century. The family continued to rent land, borrow money against property, and "made their living through farming." Susanna Turner Claud "worked in the fields picking cotton, working hogs [and] planting in the fields." Now as the "matriarch of the family" she was called "Big Grandma" by the lower generations, from which she organized labor through her immediate family and extended kin networks; they "worked in the fields and picked cotton and tended hogs" among other farm and family activities (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes). As recalled by the children of Susanna Turner Claud:

The house garden contained corn, bush beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and cucumbers. Corn was dried for feed, eaten fresh, and dried for meal...potatoes were stored in a root cellar for the winter, surrounded by straw...cornhusks were used for bedding in mattresses... The hog pen was away from the house. The pen near the house was for a sow with new piglets. Ma [Susanna] would feed them scraps from the kitchen, 'slop the hogs,' [she would say]; she would stand on the bottom rung of the pen fence and toss the bucket of scraps over... Chickens were free-roam, as were the ducks and geese – all in the yard of Ma's [Susanna's] house.

Susanna Turner Claud's descendants also described domestic pig and cow butchering, game hunting, and smokehouse cuts, "side meat, shoulder and sausage." Hunting and fishing supplemented all meat offered from the farm; freshwater fish from the Nottoway River and opossums were regular additions to the table fare. Whalen Nickens, husband of Nannie Claud, along with Susanna's son Joshua Claud, would "share meat, [and] help in butchering and scaling fish." Susanna was close to her brother William P. Turner's wife Romine Turner; the family called her "Miss Romine." The two women would go fishing together on the Nottoway River, in the

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vicinity of where nineteenth-century records documented the Nottoway “fishing seine.” Other farmstead recollections from Susanna’s descendants included “a big iron pot to render fat, to fry meat in boiling grease,” and another “for laundry.” Susanna’s farm “had apple trees and pear trees,” and a “favorite dish was apple turnovers,” “dough rolled out with apples placed in and folded over and fried.” These treats, as well as common “cornbread,” could also be “baked” in a Dutch oven, or cooked as “Johnnycakes,” as there was “no stove” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Others recalled “water was retrieved from a freshwater spring bubbling out of the ground near the river. It was very clean and good water. Someone’s job was to haul that water everyday.” Outbuildings at Susanna Turner Claud’s farm included “covers for the pigs and chickens” and “a shed for the cows,” a “two-seater outhouse,” where “newspapers were toilet paper.” A repeated comment of Susanna’s descendants concerned the crops and burden animals of the farmstead, “there was a mule or horse for working the fields... [the family] grew peanuts and cotton as a cash crop.” On “a bright day,” relatives remembered, Susanna would “hitch-up her wagon to go to Church” or “hitch her wagon to go to Courtland to sell cakes, pies, and chickens.” Susanna Turner Claud wore a “large outdated bonnet to protect her from the sun.” She hitched “two cows to a wagon to drive herself to church” and she “smoked a pipe” along the way. Church was an important part of the post-reservation Nottoway community, owing to the social restrictions of the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. James Thompson Claud “went to school to take up preaching,” and had regular attendance and preaching at Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church (VDHR #087-5420), a few miles south of Indian Town Road; Claud baptized his children at this church. The family also had an affiliation with nearby Bryant’s Baptist Church, organized in 1874 (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna’s great grandson Alfred O. Whittaker, who claims to have repeatedly visited the property during the 1930s-1940s, recounted the Susanna Turner Claud farm. Whittaker’s keen memory, described in field notes, remembered the homestead as such:

Susanna’s house – ‘round logs, notched out’ – a log cabin. [The] interior was ‘covered with newspapers,’ ‘shellacked like wallpaper.’ The exterior was ‘whitewashed’ and ‘the roof was tin.’ When it rained, ‘buckets were positioned to catch the water’ that came ‘through the roof.’ The floor was hard-packed dirt, ‘which was pleasing to the children from the city who wore no shoes!’ [There was] ‘no running water or sewage...there was a bedpan for the night or a bucket.’ The entrance most often used was ‘in the back the house, to the left.’ A small covered stoop served as a porch. A bell hung nearby for ‘calling people out of the field or in for dinner.’ A block of wood was used as a step in to the house. The front entrance was used ‘for company.’ The rear door entered into the kitchen where shelves were lined with plates, tin cups, mason jars, canned foods, and other supplies. The ‘sink was a zinc box...water ran out the bottom’ to a pan or bucket. Water was brought in from the well or the natural spring. ‘Kerosene lanterns’ lit the interior at night. Water barrels were placed ‘off the corners of the house to catch rainwater.’ ‘Monday was washday...a big kettle was used to boil wash water,’ others were used ‘for soap,’ etc. Inside, ‘a brick chimney with a big fireplace’ served as both the ‘heat and stove’ for the house, ‘Freeze in the back and burn on the front,’ was a common saying in the house. There was ‘always a kettle cooking and a fire smoldering.’ A table in the kitchen was ‘used by the grown ups to eat, then the children...it sat about six, with chairs.’ Brooms ‘were made from sedge in the fields...wheat-like grass tied with a string, used to sweep the dirt floor.’ ‘Hooks’ for the fireplace and cast iron ‘were the only cooking space;’ the ‘kitchen table doubled for counter space.’ There were ‘cloth partitions’ to divide a mostly ‘one-story, one-room house.’ There were ‘two windows on either side of the front door, maybe screened, but no glass, with shutters for when storms blew up.’ ‘Benches and crates were used as furniture around the fireplace.’ ‘Straw and cornhusks’

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filled cloth sacks for bedding. Small platforms or ‘palettes made of wood sat on the floor’ to give the bedding ‘height off the dirt floor.’ ‘Men slept in one part of the bedding area, women in another, with partitions (Woodard Field Notes).

Aside from contemporary descriptions c. 1900-1949, Susanna Turner Claud’s descendants remembered stories about the old days, when the reservation lands were still intact and allotment petitions were mid-stride. For instance, one descendant recalled Susanna discussing conditions during Reconstruction, “when life was very hard for the family.” The oral history of that period recounted when the “family lived off of the land and supplies were short,” told by Susanna as “living like animals, without much.” A difficult time was recollected, when food was served in common wooden trenchers, described “as troughs like the animals.” However, the later era was more prosperous and stable, particularly during the twentieth century when the children of Susanna Turner Claud and James Thompson Claud moved to urban centers, and traveled between the urban and rural homes. Most family members tried to put the difficult times behind them, telling “Big Grandma” to “hush about that” and “Oh momma, no one wants to hear about that.” However, it is clear that the difficulties of Reconstruction continued in varying forms into the twentieth century, whether through memories, social constructs of the “new order of things,” or the legal arrangements made during that time (Crofts 1992:218-234; Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Another topic, alcohol production and consumption, recurs in the historiography of Southampton County (i.e. Crofts 1992; Parramore [1978] 1992) and the oral history of the Woodson-Turner descendants. Southampton County was well known during the nineteenth century for its particular apple and peach brandies, referred to locally as “Apple Jack.” The Nottoway reservation allottees, their neighboring plantation owners, and smallholding farmers contributed orchard stock to the multiple farm distilleries of the 1800s. The “best apple brandy to be found in the world” was reported to come from Southampton County (Crofts 1992:79; Parramore 1978:50-51; Woodard 2013:319-321). By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mass produced and distributed beer replaced earlier spirits, although county moonshine was popular during Prohibition and in the later 1930s. Edgerton Claud, grandson of Susanna Turner Claud, was “well known for his brand of corn liquor. He also distilled barley.” During the first half of the twentieth century, drinking was a social and business activity for men. As recalled by Susanna’s descendants, men “in the country” would often gather on Saturdays, imbibe, and socialize in the barns of Indian Town Road farms. Susanna’s father Morefield Hurst (husband of Millie Woodson-Turner), her brother William P. Turner, and her son-in-law Whalen Nickens, were among the men who participated in these social activities (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Millie Woodson-Turner Descendants, c. 1905-1950

By 1904 Sarah Claud, one of Susanna Turner Claud’s oldest children, had relocated to Portsmouth, Virginia. She married William M. Wright and the couple lived on the South Street Extension, near the Seaboard Railroad Yard where Wright worked as a janitor for the “Seaboard Shop.” Other Claud siblings followed the urban migration, and according to their descendants, “Aunt Lovey [Sarah] was the first to move from Southampton to Portsmouth...the siblings who arrived first would assist the others who came along later.” Lila “Tigue” Claud, one of Susanna’s middle children, lived with Sarah and William Wright in 1905. “She was single when she moved to Portsmouth,” relatives recalled, “but met Mathew Harris...probably through the church.” Harris was from Ridgeway, North Carolina, and worked at the naval yards as a caulker. They lived on Rutter Street once married, and then later, on South Street. Sarah and Lila’s sister, Addie Claud, moved to Portsmouth and married James Edwards by 1920; the couple lived on First Avenue, then later Glasgow Street.

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Edwards, born in Carolina, worked as a hauler for teamsters (C1910-1930, Portsmouth, VA; Death Certificate, Addie Edwards, July 31, 1928, Portsmouth, VA; Woodard Field Notes).

Other children of Susanna Turner Claud took on farming as their livelihood and remained in Southampton County. Nannie Claud and her husband Whalen Nickens remained as tenants adjacent to the Woodson-Turner/ Claud farm, and "King" Arthur "Boss" Claud took up his own farming operations in the county, both as an owner and tenant farmer. Another daughter, Mattie Claud, married Edwin Turner Jr., the son of former Nottoway headman Edwin Turner. The couple farmed on Indian Town Road until the 1910s, when they relocated to Portsmouth. Their children, William Turner (b.1904) and Bessie Turner (b.1906), remained with their grandmother Susanna Turner Claud at the Claud farm through 1920, and eventually joined their parents in Portsmouth. Joshua Claud continued to live at the old allotment home site, and farmed the Woodson-Turner/ Claud land through the 1940s (C1900-1940; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna Turner Claud's daughter Lilly Claud (b.1897) "was the first of the family to move to Philadelphia." She followed "her husband Ashby Jones, who was a railway man and worked repairing the rails up the Atlantic." The couple lived in "north Philly," first on 28th Street c. 1930 and then "on 22nd and Diamond." After moving from Susanna Turner Claud's farm in Southampton to the Portsmouth home of her parents Edwin and Mattie Turner, Bessie Turner also relocated to Philadelphia. She eloped with William Harris, ten years her senior and brother of Mathew Harris, husband of Bessie's aunt Lila "Tigue" Claud. Once in Philadelphia, Bessie worked as a private domestic for a family, and William was engaged as a private chauffeur. Bessie and Lilly were "close in age" and had a good relationship; "Bessie and Lilly were the anchor of the Philadelphia family." As the Portsmouth families assisted those moving from Southampton, the Philadelphia emigrants helped kin settle in the northern center. Arthur "Boss" Claud's second oldest daughter, Susie Claud (b.1915), moved to Philadelphia and lived with Lilly until she was "able to find a job...and get settled" (C1920-1940, Philadelphia, PA; C1920-1940, Portsmouth, VA; Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

While Portsmouth and Philadelphia were the destinations for some of Millie Woodson-Turner's grandchildren, others moved to nearby locales. The family of granddaughter Virgie Claud offers an example of the itinerant Southampton County residences and patterns of movement c. 1910-1950. Virgie Claud married John W. Hardy in 1915, and for a time the couple lived in Courtland on the corner of Water and High streets. They rented the house from Frank Davis, a White businessman, and soon had a growing family, including twins Mary Elizabeth and Joseph born in 1923. John Hardy worked as a farm laborer in the county and a sawmill hand for F.W. Fisher's Estate. In 1925, the couple relocated to River Road, north of the Nottoway River, where Virgie's paternal aunt Johnny Hill Scott had a country store, and Virgie's brother "King" Arthur or "Boss" Claude was the head of his own farm. The family recalled a path through the woods, and a "foot bridge over the river," that led back to Susanna Turner Claud's farm "from Johnny Hill's." The Hardy family relocated to Riddicksville Road (now Riverdale Road) c. 1928 and "were sharecroppers" until the beginning of "the war," when John Hardy died, the older sons joined the military, and the family created multiple households. Daughter Gertrude (b.1916) married Walter Porter in 1940. The other Claud-Hardy females (Verlee and Mary Elizabeth) and younger male Joe moved with Virgie to Pine Street in Franklin, Virginia, c. 1943, then to "Hall Street for a few years." Like some of her Portsmouth cousins who relocated for opportunities in Philadelphia, Mary Elizabeth moved to New York (C1910-1940; DC 1917 Arthur Claud; DC 1917 John W. Hardy; Woodard Field Notes).

John Melton Hardy (b.1919), the eldest son, had joined the Navy in 1940 and served on board the *USS Memphis* out of Norfolk; Leroy Hardy Sr. (b.1921) served in the Army, starting in 1942. Between 1940 and 1948, John Melton Hardy sent "a portion of his military pay....to his mother...he supported his mother and

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family.” After his 1947 marriage, and the 1948 birth of his daughter, Hardy directed his earnings toward his own nuclear family and household. He stayed in the military, and again served honorably during the Korean War. By the end of World War II, and the years thereafter, most of the Claud-Hardy children had married and started new families during America’s “baby boom” (Woodard Field Notes).

By c. 1950 Virgie Claud Hardy and her other children established residences in a “new” developing area of Franklin, and eventually most of the family lived within a few blocks of one another between South Street and Rosewood Avenue. Virgie Claud Hardy resided on the corner of Rosewood and Roosevelt. Her daughter Verlee Hardy Baker (b.1917) lived on the corner of Washington and Rosewood, and was “very proud of her brick home” as it was “a symbol” of upward economic movement. Another daughter, Gertrude Hardy Porter (b.1916), and son Leroy Hardy Sr. (b.1921), both lived “around the corner on Washington Street.” After his Army service, Leroy Hardy Sr. worked in the construction business and was part of the effort to develop this area of South Street in Franklin, including building New Hope Baptist Church on Rosewood Avenue. Adjacent to the Claud-Hardy households, families of similar socioeconomic status from the “Colored” community included the surnames Britt, Brown, Chavis, Cutler, and Everett (C1920-1940; Woodard Field Notes). The Virgie Claud-Hardy family transition from itinerant rural labors to suburban homeowners was part of a wider pattern in the United States c. 1900-1950, and as such, situates the Nottoway descendants within trends of shifting American demography, the banking system, increased labor mobility, and industrialization.

Urban-Rural Connections During Jim Crow, c. 1920-1950

With the death of her parents Millie Woodson-Turner (d.1915) and Morefield Hurst (d.1918), and the outmigration of most of Susanna Turner Claud’s children c. 1905-1920, the character of the Woodson-Turner/Claud farm became somewhat different than in earlier years. Most of the men and women of the extended allottee family lived away from the “old reservation,” some in urban centers, others in Southampton or nearby counties. Many worked in jobs for wage labor, while some were “share croppers,” but few owned their own businesses or labor. Memories of the decades before World War II focused on “visiting,” resource pooling between the urban and rural residents, and a type of socioeconomic continuum of kinship between “city life” and “in the country.” Interviews with elderly informants who lived through this era also described the racial climate of Portsmouth and Southampton, and that Nottoway descendants were identified and segregated as “Black,” with little regard by Whites for other distinctions.

Portsmouth, Virginia, c. 1940 was racially segregated in all of its institutions and businesses, as all Virginia communities were during the Jim Crow era. As a consequence, Nottoway descendants of African ancestry and affiliation were barred from participating in social and economic institutions reserved for “Whites Only.” As an outcome, the Nottoway descendants more fully engaged the Black community in Portsmouth. “In the early years, Colored people owned more businesses and serviced the community,” recalled one allottee descendant. Blacksmiths, barbershops, canvas shops for boat sails, mechanics, pool halls, theaters, and other stores were “commonly Black-owned and had Colored patrons.” Black churches were the “center of the Portsmouth community,” and burial associations, fraternal orders, insurance societies, and schools attended the needs of the urban residents who were barred from White society. Nottoway descendants regularly participated in and contributed to these businesses, institutions, and social networks. However, some relatives were known to “pass as White,” and they “could not be visited;” they “would visit infrequently for purposes of [a] holiday, funeral, or the like.” These relations had access to more resources such as “better pay, better food, and merchandise,” and would “visit intermittently, sometimes bringing hard to find food items” or similar desirables. Other relatives, who were “light-skinned” and phenotypically White, many times “with one White parent, insisted on being identified as Colored or Black,” and as full members of the family. These racially

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motivated choices, and the narrow social maneuverability of family members, speak to the complexity of the Nottoway experience during the first half of the twentieth century (Woodard Field Notes).

In regard to urban labor, nearly all of the family's adult males worked in association with the railroad depot, the naval yard, or in manual labor. Most of the male spouses of the Claud women were described as "Negro," and along with the social segregation of the period, the Portsmouth families were also stratified economically. Mathew Harris, husband of Lila Claud, was a caulker for wooden ships engaged in coastwise trade, and his brother William Harris joined the Merchant Marines before relocating to Philadelphia with Bessie Turner. William Wright, husband of Sarah Claud, was a janitor for the Seaboard Railroad, and James Edwards, husband of Addie Claud, worked loading and unloading goods for shipping. Others were engaged in "Public Work," or unskilled manual labor. "The men used to ride together in trucks. The kinds of jobs that they had sometimes were pick-and-shovel kind of jobs. The truck would come by and they'd climb on and go off to wherever the work was repairing roads." The women of the families worked as maids and servants for Whites "across town," and some did laundry for White households as a side job. Lila "Tigue" Claud Harris washed clothes, "ironed them and delivered them to their door. That was one of the jobs she did." Adjacent to her home on South Street "there was Benny's sandwich shop" that served the Seaboard railway workers, "sold cigarettes...other tobacco products, and made sandwiches to order." Lila Claud Harris "cooked for the uptown location" and "many [of the family] bought chewing tobacco or snuff there" (C1910-1940, Portsmouth, VA; Woodard Field Notes).

In rural Southampton County, Great Depression-era "Public Work" at the county seat of Courtland involved men waiting for the train "across from the depot to unload the boxcars" as they arrived. Other jobs including paving roads, sawmill labor, and hauling. When not farming his family's allotment land, Josh Claud caught work in Courtland, as did Joe and Leroy Hardy, who were sons of Virgie Claud Hardy. "Colored" laborers almost exclusively manned these jobs in the 1920s-1940s. While wage labor was vital, Courtland was recalled as,

not a welcoming place for people of color...most stayed away from there, especially when there were events or congregations of people in town...too many chances to get arrested for looking the wrong way, unless you were standing on the corner waiting for work...There was an amazing amount of pressure on those people to conform...to constrain themselves and work within society...you had to do what you had to do to survive, and those people did it (Woodard Field Notes).

Despite the Great Depression and racial politics in both locales, connections to Southampton County remained important for the Portsmouth emigrants. With economic and social constrictions, the resources of the Woodson-Turner/ Claud rural homestead on Indian Town Road provided urban family members with a constant infusion of foodstuffs from the farm. Plants and animals were transplanted to Portsmouth, mostly in the form of chickens, fruit trees, and vegetables. Lila Claud Harris "had chickens in the coop and we would collect the eggs in the morning. Occasionally they had a duck or two in the yard." Mattie Turner "had a grape arbor that would grow great big juicy grapes. She [also] had an apple tree and a fig tree." These amenities provided some level of comfort to the Nottoway descendants, and represented an aspect of Southampton "country life" in Portsmouth. Mattie Turner also utilized an empty lot of "railroad land" to have "a garden right outside their house," where "they would plant butter beans, collards, and cabbage out there, and every year they'd get a nice supply of fresh vegetables." These domestic food sources were not uncommon for some neighborhoods in the city, but their origins from the family's rural lifeway on Nottoway allotment farms made them unique (ibid).

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In support of the importance of Southampton connections, family members fondly recalled, “visits to the country” during the summer and early fall ripening and harvest seasons. Brother Arthur Claude and mother Susanna Turner Claud annually contributed to the Portsmouth produce supply during the 1930s and 1940s. “Fill up the basket” was the cry from the Claud matriarchs in the city as the younger generations “roved Big Grandma’s [Susanna Turner Claud’s] garden;” and the family would “fill the bushel basket full of vegetables to take back to Portsmouth.” Sometimes, the family would be called to assist with harvesting on the Claud farm, where “they would be met by Uncle Boss [Arthur Claude], who would bring them to the country to pick cotton on the farm of James Thomason Claud” or assist “Uncle Josh [with taking] his peanuts to market to sell.” Starting in November the Portsmouth families would “return to Southampton for fresh meat” from animal culling and butchering, and game hunting; in the spring and fall, “fishing in the river,” was particularly important when the herring and shad would run (ibid).

Visits to the Susanna Turner Claud farmstead “were sometimes only overnight or for the weekend,” and other times “longer in the summer.” During the 1920s, some members of the “family had a car,” others only “for a short time,” or “a car was borrowed to drive to the country.” By the 1930s, a summer tradition of the urban families was to “drive to the country” and “strut” their accomplishments from Portsmouth and Philadelphia. The extended kin would “show off their cars, new suits, hats with big feathers in them...to show how well they were doing in the city...that lifestyle was appealing to the [younger] farm [kindred] looking out into the world...they looked up to their success.” Visitors from Philadelphia came less often, only for holidays, weddings, or funerals. Lilly Claude “often had fancy clothes...fitted gloves and tailored attire...her husband worked for the city [Philadelphia]. He had steady pay and benefits...they had a nice house, fancy china, sterling silver settings, and glass ware.” The lure of economic mobility and the benefits of urban wage labor weighed heavily on Southampton kindred; by 1940, 70 percent of the Claude children lived in cities, although the generation remained connected by kinship to the matrilineal allotment farm of Millie Woodson-Turner and Susanna Turner Claud from their Southampton youth (ibid).

The women, in particular, would return to socialize with their Southampton cousins, aunts, and uncles. Bringing “all their kids,” they crossed “the wooden bridge with the boards on it” from Courtland, wound past “the peanut factory,” and turned up Indian Town Road to Susanna’s farm. Extended family lived along the “old reservation” in “an old house that sat back off the road” where people “would recognize you by waving and sometimes with a handkerchief” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes). Living descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner and Susanna Turner Claud remembered that “people came from all around” to visit and socialize at the Claud farm, particularly during the warmer months. On the old Woodson-Turner/ Claud farm, they would sit on the porch in the evening trying to get something burning so they could keep mosquitoes from biting. They’d sit out there until 9:00, 9:30, 10:00 talking, depending on the conversation, if they were having fun remembering things, telling lies on each other. That’s how they entertained themselves in those days. They didn’t have T.V., didn’t have telephone, didn’t have radio in most cases...[one relative] used to get the paper every day, but they didn’t have a whole lot of other stuff up in the country...they would sit on the porch and somebody from the community or the neighborhood would come by with a guitar and they would sit out there and harmonize. They’d sing along [to] church songs, somebody would pray...it was almost like a church service. Those were the kind of things they would do to entertain themselves and spend some time together.

Other community engagement included attendance at Bryant’s Church on Sunday mornings, where “Pastor David” preached in the 1920s and 1930s. The church was four miles south of the Claud farm, and continued to be a center of Turner-Claud descendants’ life into the 1970s. Several members of the family,

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including Arthur “Boss” Claud, were buried in the associated cemetery (ibid). By c. 1940, the Millie Woodson-Turner / Susanna Turner Claud farm and associated tracts allotted from the Nottoway reservation had been maintained as a private homestead for ninety years. As a continuously occupied Nottoway property from the 1705 colonial reservation surveys, descendants had resided on the tracts for 235 years.

Farm Loss

Many of the Nottoway descendants repeatedly used their reservation allotments as collateral on loans, or placed a lien on their livestock or future crops to secure funding. Sometimes crop failure ruined a family’s finances, and resulted in farm loss due to debt. In other cases, continual tax delinquency required outside assistance to maintain the property of the poor and elderly. The Woodson-Turner/ Claud family lost property, repurchased it, and in some cases, rented tracts after they were sold. Southampton County court documents indicate the Nottoway descendants were often engaged with prominent White court officials, landowners, and lawyers, such as D.D. Barham, James T. Gillete, Robert S. Pope, Junius W. Pulley, William B. Shands, and William J. Sebrell. These men acted as lawyers, securities on debt, witnesses on deeds, and financial lenders to the Nottoway. However, as during an earlier period of Nottoway Trustee superintendence, these prominent men did not always act with the Indian Town Road residents’ interests in mind, but rather their own. There are multiple transactions within the Nottoway’s Southampton County documentary record c. 1920-1950 that demonstrate predatory lending and liens, with the result being debt, dependency, and property loss.

There were also disagreements among descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner regarding the inheritance of the allotment tracts, and some competition over control of portions of the Claude farm. After Millie’s death, a lawsuit among some of her children and their spouses resulted in the public auction of several tracts within the Woodson-Turner/ Claud farm, with the proceeds distributed among the heirs. Some suggest the sale took place without the knowledge of all concerned parties, but the monies were divided once the tracts were sold (Chancery OB 15:256). Included in the 1917 auction was the 64-acre wooded tract that Millie Woodson-Turner originally received as an allotment, situated in the middle of the family farm (DB60:78). The property changed ownership multiple times thereafter, but it does not appear to have physically impacted the residential compounds of the homestead, situated on the cleared area of the adjacent allotment facing Indian Town Road.

James Thompson Claud and Susanna Turner Claud used the Nottoway allotments as loan collateral multiple times before 1920, but always paid down the debt over time. However, with the relocation of the grown children, and the advancing age of the Clauds, the productivity of the larger aggregate of allotment properties diminished; a home farm and smaller operation emerged “in the bend by Clay Hill” on Indian Town Road, which Josh Claud eventually managed with family help. The Clauds timbered several hundred acres of the allotment land after Millie Woodson-Turner’s and Morefield Hurst’s deaths, providing a substantive boost to the farm’s finances (Trust DB 13:552-553; Woodard Field Notes).

By 1926, James Thompson Claud was failing in health and entered a will at the Southampton Courthouse in April of that year. Signed by witnesses James T. Gillette, a prominent lawyer and future mayor, and Bessie T. Shands, daughter of lawyer and former senator William B. Shands, Claud’s will outlined several points related to personal property and debt. He directed that all of his financial shortcomings be paid at his death, and that all of his household furniture should be given to his wife Susanna Turner Claud. James Thompson Claud’s will, however, also included several unusual articles, based on the existing patterns of Indian Town property holding:

All the balance of my property, real, personal, and mixed, I desire shall be sold and converted into cash. I give to my wife one-third of the entire amount, to be hers forever, and the balance of

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the property, after one-third is taken out and given to Susanna Claud, I desire to be equally divided among all my children. Should any one die before my death, I desire that his, or her part, shall go to his or her children. Thus my grandchildren shall have their parent's share... I desire that my hereinafter named Executor shall have the authority and power to sell my real estate and convert same into cash...I do hereby nominate and appoint James T. Gillette of Courtland, Virginia, Executor of this my last Will and Testament...Witness my hand and seal this 8th day of April, 1926 (WB23:83).

Family members indicate that Susanna Turner Claud was unaware of what arrangements her husband made or why he made them, but after James Thompson Claud's death in October 1926, James T. Gillette moved to survey the property for sale. Susanna Claud appeared before the county clerk in protest and entered a renouncement of the will:

I Susanna Claud, widow...do hereby waive and renounce the said clauses and provisions of the said will of James Thompson Claud, deceased, and elect to claim such share of my said husband's estate, real personal, and mixed as I would have had if he died intestate...Witness my hand and seal this 2nd day of December, 1926. Susanna Claud her X mark (SEAL) Witness Nannie E. Nickins (WB23:87).

Children and grandchildren of Susanna Turner Claud remarked that James Thompson Claud "would have never wanted to evict his children." The witness, Nannie Nickens, was Susanna's oldest daughter and farm neighbor; the sale impacted the Nickens family and several other Nottoway descendants living as tenants on the Woodson-Turner/ Claud farm. Neither the court nor Gillette were moved by Susanna Claud's rejection of the will, and Gillette, who "qualified as the Executor on the said estate on the 4th day of November, 1926," proceeded to sell about 200 acres of the Claud farm. Ten acres of land at Clay Hill, bordering Indian Town Road and Milly Woodson Turner's old allotment, were kept as a dower interest of Susanna Turner Claud as long as she lived, but reverted to the sold "tract at the death of Susanna Claud." W.J. Sebrell purchased several tracts, which contained three allotments, historically those of Patsy Bozeman (48 acres), Lydia Bozeman (71 acres), and Lamb Bozeman (75 acres), and sold them to D.C. Gillette and Lucile Gillette by March of 1928. Lawyer James T. Gillette, as trustee, retained control of some of the properties, including the tract around Susanna Turner Claud's farm (DB:73:121; 125:524; 243:239).

The sale of the allotments by Gillette was denounced by the family, who stated in oral history interviews that, "lawyer Gillette...had the will drawn up...to fool [Susanna] out of 350 acres of land." Allottee descendants remained suspicious of county officials, lawyers, and financial institutions, as they were seen to be the mechanisms by which families were "cheated" "out of their land." It was Gillette who facilitated the sale of the Millie Woodson-Turner tract in 1917, and as of 1926, the dispossession of the remaining allotment farmstead. Thus, some descendants saw Gillette in a negative light. A sentiment of betrayal and loss pervade the oral histories of Nottoway allottee descendants, particularly those who lived through the last divisions of the old reservation farmlands (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna Turner Claud was remembered as being fastidious about her tax payments, as she knew this was a means by which other families on Indian Town Road had relinquished their allotments. Several of her matrilineal family on Indian Town Road lost their properties through over ten years of tax arrears from 1924-1939, resolved by a small circle of prominent White men in Courtland (COB 11:446, 477-479, 498). Family members recalled that White men, who kept track of due dates, interest, and bank loans for a fee, sometimes paid the property taxes. But others suggested that some "prominent White men" collected the money, never paid the tax, allowed the arrears to accrue, and then facilitated the farms' auction. In most of these cases residents

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retained “lifetime rights,” once their property had been sold to a third party (Rountree 1987:212). As during the nineteenth century, sometimes the trustees for the property sale and the family of the purchaser were one and the same, closely related in business, or the lawyer and trustee became the purchaser (DB69:435-436; 125:121-122).

According to descendants, another strategy used by the same circle of Courtland officials was to pit one family member against another in inheritance situations, and thereby force the resolution in court. As most of the Nottoway descendants could not afford outright to purchase their kin’s interests in the land, the court favored auctioning the property and dividing the income, including substantial fees paid to the lawyers. There are multiple examples of this situation unfolding on Indian Town Road, including the 1926 auction of the Claud farm (CC *Edwin D. Turner et al. v. William Turner et al.*, 1881-1885; Rountree 1987:212; CC *Sykes et als. v. Harris et als.*, 1952-1953; WB23:83-84, 87). A pattern of manipulation and loss may not be conclusive, but when compared against the history of the Nottoway trustees and reservation allotment, a connection is suggested.

Despite diminishment and loss, Susanna “stayed on the land,” “farmed,” and “paid her taxes.” Family members recalled that Susanna Turner Claud “became sick when she was informed she would lose the farm.” The evidence is lacking for the specifics of the situation, as she retained her ten acres of “dower interest” until her death. She “took to her bed, which was an uncommon state for her.” Bedridden, “Big Grandma” left the remains of the Claud farm c. 1947 and “went to live with her son King Arthur Claude – Uncle Boss.” However, while Susanna Turner Claud vacated the old allotment compound, a mysterious fire burnt the c. 1850 farmhouse to the ground. Completely devastated, Susanna Turner Claud died of a coronary on March 10, 1949. Her death certificate attributed congestive heart disease as the source of the occlusion, but interviewed family members repeatedly connected the death of Susanna Turner Claud to the burning of the old family home, “it was just too much for her,” “she died from the stress,” and “a broken heart” (Patricia Phillips MS 1977; Woodard Field Notes).

Susanna Turner Claude’s children, grandchildren, great grandchildren, extended family, and many community members attended the matriarch’s funeral in Southampton County. Those who lived away travelled from Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Portsmouth for the service. According to individuals who attended the funeral, descendants gathered at the site of the old homestead, and photographs of the event show well-dressed men and women from multiple branches of the extended family. The death of Susanna Turner Claud, daughter of Nottoway allottee Millie Woodson-Turner, and the loss of the home and farmstead marked the end of continuous Nottoway affiliation with the site (ibid).

In 1952, one of Nottoway headman Edwin D. Turner’s granddaughters, Rosa Ellen Sykes, sold her life interests in two Indian Town Road reservation allotment tracts to her daughter. Another relative contested the transfer, and in 1953 a chancery court ordered the property be auctioned, and the monies arising from the sale divided in proportion to descent from the original allottee (Rountree 1979:48). As Edwin Turner Jr. had married Mattie Claud (daughter of Susanna Turner Claud), their children and descendants were identified in the suit. Thus, William Turner and Bessie Turner Harris, who had lived with “Big Grandma” Susanna Turner Claude when their parents moved to Portsmouth, were considered interested parties. The court traced the Nottoway descendants in Southampton, as well as Susanna’s grandchildren and great-grandchildren in Philadelphia, for the monetary divisions from the auction (Chancery OB 14:331-332, 400; Woodard Field Notes).

With the 1953 sale of these two allotment tracts, the last continuously controlled parcels of Iroquoian territory left the hands of Nottoway descendants. Many tribal members, however, retained their private holdings

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and assured that the tribe's presence in Southampton County endured. During the late 20th century, the Commonwealth of Virginia began examining its relationship with the various tribes still resident in Virginia and created processes for formal recognition by the Commonwealth. The Nottoway attained state recognition in 2010. In 2014, the General Assembly passed House Bill No. 903, which directs the Secretary of the Commonwealth to serve as the Governor's liaison to the Virginia Indian tribes and to report annually on the status of tribes in Virginia. This new phase of the Nottoway's relationship with the Commonwealth coincided with the opening of the tribe's community house and interpretive center in Capron, Virginia, which offers educational programming and community engagement for tribal members and the general public as well as dedicated space for tribal governance for years to come.

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F. Associated Property Types

Property Type 1 – Sites

Description

Sites associated with the Nottoway of Virginia include cemeteries and burials; places used for procurement of natural resources; sites of towns, buildings, structures, and other culturally significant sites; and archaeological sites. Due to the inherent differences between sites such as these, each category is discussed in greater detail below.

Cemeteries and Gravesites

Cemeteries and gravesites include church cemeteries, family cemeteries, and other places where Nottoway were buried, whether in a group or individually. Oral traditions, family ties, tribal records, and local government records have preserved knowledge of some cemeteries and gravesites. However, due to the repeated relocation of Nottoway during the historic period, not all locations are known and future investigations are likely to identify more of them. An example of a cemetery still in use is one associated with the Bryant's Baptist Church in Southampton County, where several members of the Claud family, including Arthur "Boss" Claud, were buried.

Cemeteries and gravesites may date from the colonial era (c. 1650-c. 1790) through the mid-20th century. Spread across more than 300 years, the burials may reflect changing funerary practices, such as inclusion of a headstone, orientation of the grave, and grave goods, as well as the socioeconomic circumstances of the time and the Nottoway's degree of cultural autonomy. Virginia race laws of the 18th and 19th centuries and Jim Crow segregation during the 20th century also are likely to have affected placement of cemeteries and graves.

Places for Procurement of Natural Resources

The Nottoway relied on traditional practices for procurement of natural resources from the colonial era through the 20th century. Seasonal migration originally occurred between upland and lowland riverine territories. As the tribal population shifted during the colonial era and eventually to the reservation lands in Southampton County, the places where natural resources were obtained changed and not all locations are known.

The V-shaped rock weirs on the Nottoway River and tributaries in the Assamoosick Swamp are one example of a traditional place of procurement of fish and shellfish. These were seasonally fished by Indian Town residents, and the "Indian seine place" or "Indian fishing place" appeared as a landmark in period deeds and plats during the 19th century. In addition to rivers and swamps, forests, such as the Indian Woods, also provided natural resources important to Nottoway culture. Medicinal plants, nuts and wild fruits, such as blackberries, grapes, maypops, mulberry, persimmons, and strawberries, were gathered seasonally.

Traditionally Nottoway women were responsible for sowing, managing, and harvesting dietary staples such as corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and gourds. During the 18th and 19th centuries, animal husbandry and orchards became part of Nottoway agricultural practices. Nottoway farmers also participated in the regional agricultural market economy to obtain cash income. Subsistence agriculture continued among the Nottoway through the early 20th century, and traditional foods remained culturally significant to tribal members who moved to urban areas, whether they established gardens at their new homes or returned to their ancestral home on a seasonal basis. Due to dispossession, many Nottoway farms associated with the tribe's Great Town and Indian Town in Southampton County were acquired by other owners. Future investigations may identify properties associated

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with Nottoway agriculture either in the vicinity of the former reservations or elsewhere in Virginia. Today in Southampton County, tribal members own farms in Capron, Drewryville, Boykins, Branchville, Courtland and Ivor; these farms have been owned by the same families for multiple generations.

Archaeological Sites – Towns, Forts, Buildings, Structures, and Other Culturally Significant Sites

Nottoway origin stories and oral tradition identify culturally significant places in Virginia. These include places where Nottoway religious rites were practiced, tribal councils convened, fortifications were established, and communal events took place. The Nottoway River itself also is important to the tribe's historic activities and settlement patterns. In Sussex County, near the river, the Nottoway Archaeological Site (VDHR #091-0075), listed in the National Register in 1988, includes cultural resources from c. 8000 BCE to c. 1600 CE, and this site is thought to be the location of a Nottoway town recorded by European explorers c. 1650.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the Nottoway reservation totaled sixty-four square miles or 41,000 acres in present Southampton County. The land north of the Nottoway River along the Assamoosick Swamp was a twenty-eight square mile polygon often called the "Circle Tract," which included a fortification, and Nottoway lands south of the river, contained approximately thirty-six square miles known as the "Square Tract." Within these reservations, Great Town and Indian Town were dispersed communities comprised primarily of farms and single dwellings along the aptly named Indian Town Road. Communal lands, notably the Indian Woods, were part of the reservations as well. The Nottoway established important cultural and religious places throughout their occupation of the reservation lands. Additionally, at least two churches, Bryant's Baptist Church and Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church (VDHR #087-5420), both in Southampton County, are known to have had tribal members.

Due to population shifts, locations of some sites have been lost. Many sites can no longer be used due to changes in land ownership. One such example is in Southampton County, where the sites of two Indian towns, Warekeck and Ronotough, have been identified, along with the later Rose Hill plantation (together recorded at VDHR as #087-0052). Listed in the National Register in 1979, this locale also historically was known as "Indian Land." The property left tribal ownership in 1792 when the Nottoway deeded it to John Blow, at the time a Trustee of the tribe. Another example is the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (VDHR #44SN0341) in Southampton County. The farmstead was owned by the Woodson-Turner family from c. 1850 to the mid-20th century, when it was auctioned with the proceeds distributed to Susanna Turner Claud's descendants; a secondary site here has been recorded as 44SN0069. Future investigations are likely to identify other sites of cultural significance to the Nottoway.

Significance

Cemeteries and Gravesites

Cemeteries and gravesites may be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American and/or under Criterion D in the area of Archaeology: Historic: Aboriginal and/or Ethnic Heritage/Native American for their historic association with the Nottoway in Virginia. Cemeteries and gravesites must also meet Criteria Consideration D by deriving their significance from association with historic events, distinctive design features, or from graves of persons of transcendent importance. The Nottoway faced generations of interference in tribal affairs and repeated removals from ancestral lands, during which the ability to access cemeteries and gravesites for cultural practices and familial connections was never guaranteed. However, the importance of kinship ties in Nottoway society imbues burials with significance that resonates to the present day.

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Places for Procurement of Natural Resources

The places traditionally used by the Nottoway for procuring natural resources represent the tribe's ability to provide for their basic needs and obtain materials useful for trade in indigenous networks. Continued use of these places after c. 1650 were shaped by Nottoway participation in trade with Europeans. Some places, such as for fishing, farming, and gathering of raw materials, remained central to Nottoway culture and survival during the reservation years, individual allotments and privatization of tribal lands, and dispossession. These places may be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American.

Archaeological Sites – Towns, Forts, Buildings, Structures, and Other Culturally Significant Sites

Archaeological sites may be eligible for the National Register under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American and/or under Criterion D in the area of Archaeology: Historic: Aboriginal and/or Ethnic Heritage/Native American for the significant information they may yield. Under Criterion A, such sites may have significance for their association with important trends and events during Nottoway history from c. 1650 to the mid-20th century. Under Criterion D, research potential represented by town sites has been demonstrated through professional investigations at sites such as Warekeck/Ronotough/Rose Hill (VDHR #087-0052) in Southampton County and at the Nottoway Archaeological Site in Sussex County. Individual properties such as the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (VDHR #44SN0341) in Southampton County also have potential to yield information about the poorly documented Nottoway occupation of reservation lands from the 18th century through allotments that began during the mid-19th century and eventual loss of tribal ownership by the mid-20th century.

An important consideration when evaluating eligibility of previously identified colonial-era through mid-20th century archaeological resources is that, due to lack of understanding about how the Nottoway adopted English housing types and adapted manufactured goods for their own needs, may have been misidentified as Euro-American cultural deposits, instead of Nottoway reservation-era homesteads and farms. This consideration is particularly pertinent for previously identified sites in the immediate vicinity of the Circle Tract and the Square Tract, such as the Great Town site (VDHR #44SN0237). A recent Phase I archaeological survey of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (VDHR #44SN0341) established the continuity of cultural materials from the colonial-era reservation through the nineteenth-century allotment period and twentieth-century occupation, and this investigation can provide a model for future work.

Registration Requirements

Cemeteries and Graves

To be eligible for listing in the National Register under this cover document, a cemetery or gravesite must have clear and demonstrable connection with the Nottoway at any time between c. 1650 and c. 1970. These associations will be found primarily through historic records, personal diaries or journals, family records such as lists of births and deaths, or credible oral history accounts. Nominated examples of the property type must also retain sufficient integrity to convey that significance. Defining the exact location and boundaries of such sites may be difficult, especially for earlier burials. With regard to integrity, cemeteries and gravesites must be verified in terms of location, but ground disturbance is *not recommended* for these types of sites. Non-invasive methods such as ground-penetrating radar and surface inspection are acceptable. Retention of setting may be tightly defined as encompassing the extent of the burials. Most, if not all, will have occurred in a rural setting. After members of the Nottoway adopted Christianity, burials also would have occurred in a church yard or a

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family cemetery on a farmstead. Feeling and association are present if integrity of location and setting are respectively verified and retained. Primary documentary evidence (e.g., tribal membership rolls, government birth and death records, and diaries and family records) can be referenced to establish the historical basis for the resource. Oral histories also provide reports of burial locations. Because of the difficulty in locating and verifying gravesites, especially those prior to the reservation era, these resources may be included as suggested if unverified sites in the boundaries of nominations for other related property types.

Places for Procurement of Natural Resources

Modern development is likely to have altered or obliterated many places traditionally used by the Nottoway for procurement of natural resources. For example, the Indian Woods in Southampton County is known to have been logged at least to some extent. Due to the lower potential for development in flood plains and swamps, these places are more likely to survive without a modern cultural overlay. The cultural imprint of the Nottoway on such places, however, generally will not be immediately obvious to the untrained eye. Rather, their significance lies with the Nottoway memory of the roles of these places in their tribal history and the continued cultural traditions associated with them. Therefore, places associated with procurement of natural resources may be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American for their significance in the traditional lifeways of the Nottoway over time.

Archaeological Sites – Towns, Forts, Buildings, Structures, and Other Culturally Significant Sites

Under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American, archaeological sites must be associated with significant events or trends in Nottoway history. Such trends may include town or building sites associated with Nottoway participation in indigenous trade networks from c. 1650 until European trade disrupted traditional networks; sites associated with Nottoway participation in European trade and adaptation of European practices, such as use of manufactured goods, for tribal practices; sites associated with the reservation era when the Nottoway agreed to limit their tribal occupation to the Square and Circle tracts in Southampton County; and the gradual trend of privatizing tribal holdings through family allotments that began c. 1850-1852, and 20th century activism.

To be eligible under Criterion D, a site must demonstrate it has information-yielding potential in the area of Archaeology: Historic: Aboriginal. This will be most commonly displayed in the existence of intact cultural deposits, including ruins, that are likely to yield, or have been demonstrated to yield, important information concerning tribal history between c. 1650 and c. 1970.

Sites displaying artifacts that can be dated to the period of historic significance and showing a potential for well-preserved archeological components are eligible for registration. Sites lacking surface artifacts and showing a high potential for intact subsurface components, with or without associated ruins, also are eligible. Under Criterion D, the research potential of sites of buildings and structures has been demonstrated through investigation of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (VDHR#44SN0341) described in Section E of this document. Such sites have the potential to be eligible under Criterion D in the area of Archaeology: Historic: Aboriginal, and/or under Criteria A and/or B depending on their historic associations with important trends and historic figures significant to Nottoway history.

For a site to be nominated under Criterion A and/or Criterion D, the site must retain integrity of location and setting by possessing an undisturbed character likely to preserve cultural deposits, stratification, and context necessary to yield important information. Such sites will have integrity of association as well. Integrity of

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design and materials may be demonstrated in the presence and distribution of cultural components and spatial relationships indicative of traditional tribal practices and/or historically significant events or patterns. Integrity of feeling is conveyed by the site's setting if it retains characteristics that lend understanding of reasons for the site's selection for a particular activity of cultural importance.

Property Type 2 – Buildings and Structures

Description

Historic buildings associated with the Nottoway include houses, barns and other agricultural outbuildings, and churches, schools, and other tribal community buildings. Given the repeated relocations of tribal members during the colonial era and the less permanent materials used to construct longhouses, storehouses, ramadas, and other traditional buildings, no extant buildings associated with the Nottoway have been identified that predate c. 1800. With further investigation, sites of some buildings may be identified among the cultural components identified at town sites such as Ronotough and the Circle Tract (44SN0237) and others discussed above. Important to future investigations is recognition that by the mid-18th century, the Nottoway had largely adopted English housing types of wood or frame construction.

Today, buildings constructed by, owned, and/or used by the Nottoway are most likely to date to the 19th and 20th centuries. These earlier buildings typically would have been simply constructed using vernacular framing methods and utilitarian design. Evolution of buildings as families grew, farming practices changed, or the tribe's fortunes fluctuated is to be expected. Buildings constructed in the 20th century, especially after World War II, would more likely be from standard designs using mass-produced materials.

Dwellings and barns or other agricultural outbuildings are expected to be among the building types identified in future surveys. Up through the early twentieth century, dwellings often accommodated extended families, in keeping with traditional Iroquoian matrilineal kinship patterns, although census records indicate a gradual shift to nuclear family structure from the 19th through mid-20th century. Accordingly, massing and floor plans of dwellings likely were adapted to suit changing family needs. For tribal leaders, a dining room or other space in the home also often doubled as meeting space to discuss tribal business.

The Nottoway have engaged in farming since the colonial era and primary source accounts include descriptions of farmsteads that included barns, sheds, corncribs, and other outbuildings. Farm stands for selling produce also are mentioned. As with dwellings, designs and materials for agricultural outbuildings became increasingly standardized by the mid-20th century. The form and use of agricultural buildings likely also evolved with changing agricultural practices and technological changes, such as transition from horse-drawn to mechanized equipment or incorporation of mass-produced fertilizers. Further field investigations, and research of documents such as census records, is needed to understand the agricultural buildings used at Nottoway farmsteads.

Churches, schools, and other tribal community buildings were important to the Nottoway as places of worship, communal gathering, education, social events, tribal council meetings, and other purposes that strengthened community bonds. It is not clear if the Nottoway may have ever constructed a building or structure purpose-built for religious practices, but individual Nottoway are known to have attended churches in the vicinity of the Southampton County Indian Town and Great Town. Two of these are Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church (VDHR #087-5420), organized in 1865 and a few miles south of Indian Town Road in Boykins, and Bryant's Baptist Church, organized in 1874 and located near Capron and about four miles south of the Claud farm. Virginia's statewide public school system began in 1870, at which time racially segregated schools were mandated for White, African American, and Indian children. The "Turner's Hill School" is known to have

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existed in the immediate vicinity of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site, but little information about its appearance, construction materials, and design has been discovered to date. In addition to provision of publicly funded education for the first time, schools quickly became community centers where important social and cultural activities were held. Further, due to inequities in funding for segregated schools, African American and Indian communities often contributed private funds, materials, and their own labor to build schools for their children. The nomination for the Sharon Indian School (NRHP 2007) in King William County provides ample discussion of the history and significance of Indian schools.

Other tribal community buildings may include meeting halls, museums, and recreational centers and, most likely, these either were built for this purpose or were adaptations of existing buildings for community use. Opened in 2012, The Nottoway Community House and Interpretive Center in Capron is an excellent example of such a building where, in addition to offering meeting space, demonstrations of traditional crafts are held as well as classes on beading, flute making, and quilting. An interpretive exhibit, "From Barter...To Buffer...To Be," covers Nottoway history from the 17th century to the present; this permanent exhibit was made possible by donations from Nottoway families and friends with matching funds provided by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities. Other educational programming at the Community House and grounds includes presentations by lecturers, storytellers, crafters, visual artists, and performing artists from within the Tribe as well as communities surrounding the center and elsewhere in Virginia and the nation. In the future buildings such as these, and others, may be evaluated as eligible for the National Register.

Significance

Buildings and structures may be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American. Other areas of significance also may be applicable that are specific to a building's use, such as Education and Social History for schools, Agriculture for farm buildings, Politics/Government for tribal governance and interactions with colonial-era, state, and/or federal officials, and other relevant areas of significance identified through future research and field investigations. Buildings that were places of important events, such as planning meetings for preparation of official tribal documentation submitted to local, state, and/or federal officials and group discussions concerning tribal actions concerning civil rights, also may be significant.

Under Criterion B, a building may be significant for association with a historic figure, such as a tribal chief, religious leader, educator, or activist, whose contributions were important to the Nottoway. The building most directly associated with the person's significant contributions is preferred; however, if that building is not extant, then another buildings, such as a dwelling, may be eligible. Lacking any extant buildings, a birthplace or gravesite of a significant person may be nominated under Criterion B as either resource type would meet Criteria Consideration C.

Under Criterion C, buildings and structures may be significant in the area of Architecture if they embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or represent the work of a master, or possess high artistic values; a collection of buildings and structures that lack individual distinction but make up a distinguishable entity also may be eligible under Criterion C as a historic district. Buildings that evolved over time and are illustrative of a particular circumstance, such as housing patterns, expansion of a school to accommodate increasing enrollment, changes to accommodate new agricultural technology, or similar changes, may be eligible under Criterion C as they are imprints of significant historic events on the cultural landscape. In recent decades, field investigations at various locales have demonstrated that a building that appears to conform to Euro-American design principles, if occupied by a minority ethnic group, will have interior adaptations to

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accommodate the group's cultural identity and practices. Such architectural elements also can imbue a building with significance under Criterion C.

Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing in the National Register under this cover document, a building or structure must have clear and demonstrable connection with the Nottoway at any time between c. 1650 and c. 1970. These associations will be found primarily through historic records, personal diaries or journals, family records, photographs, and credible oral history accounts. Under Criteria A and B, a building's or structure's significance must be demonstrated by the direct link of the building or structure to events or persons significant to the history of the Nottoway. Under Criterion C, the building's or structure's significance can be tied to distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or if the resource is a representation of the work of a master, and/or it has high artistic values. Nominated examples of the property type must also retain sufficient integrity to convey that significance.

Buildings and structures should have integrity of location, which is often important to understanding why the property was created or why something happened there. Similarly, integrity of setting provides an understanding of the character of the overall place within which the property is situated, as well as environmental influences that may have shaped its design and use. Buildings and structures with integrity of location and setting also will convey the historic or aesthetic sense of a particular time, which contributes to integrity of feeling. Thus, these three aspects of integrity should be retained in order for a building or structure to be eligible. Integrity of association, represented by a direct link of the building or structure to the Nottoway as well as retention of physical characteristics that convey the resource's historic character, is required for the property to be eligible.

Integrity of feeling and association can be further understood if other aspects of integrity also are present. Integrity of design allows a building or structure to demonstrate its intended uses and functions, as well as aesthetic aspects that may be associated with important cultural preferences or artistic traditions. The design may be strictly utilitarian, such as with an agricultural outbuilding, but its presence nonetheless can be important to understanding a property's overall history. Design also may express important socioeconomic characteristics of the persons who constructed the building or who authorized its construction; thus, alterations to an original design, such as culturally-influenced reconfiguration of an interior floor plan, will contribute to, rather than detract from, integrity of design. Integrity of materials similarly captures both the aesthetic sense and the circumstances in which a building or structure was constructed, while integrity of workmanship represents the tangible skills of a particular builder's skill, either with regard to particular components of the building or the whole of the building. Aesthetic principles also can be discerned through integrity of materials. Retention of at least the most fundamental components of the building's or structure's design, workmanship, and materials is necessary for it to be eligible.

Property Type 3 – Historic Districts

Description

Historic districts are significant concentrations of historic resources that, individually, may not be distinctive. Buildings, structures, objects, and sites can all be included in a historic district. Examples of historic district include farmsteads, villages, or other visually and/or functionally cohesive area where no single resource is dominant, such as a group of houses constructed along a rural road. Archaeological sites also can comprise a historic district, or be components of a district with above-ground resources. Important to the eligibility of a

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historic district is that the resources are a distinguishable entity, readily identified by characteristics such as physical proximity, spatial relationships, a limited range of construction dates, similarity in materials, design, and/or methods of construction, or functional uses. The Register-listed property comprised of Waynoka/Wareck/Rose Hill (VDHR #087-0052) in Southampton County is an example of a known historic district associated with the Nottoway, as is the Register-listed Nottoway Town Site (VDHR #091-0075), which is composed of four sites (VDHR #44SN0006, 44SN0007, 44SN0098, and 44SN0162).

Significance

Historic districts nominated under this cover document are likely to be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American for their association with important events and trends that have occurred among the Nottoway since c. 1650. Archaeological districts that include Nottoway town sites, such as the Great Town Site (VDHR #44SN0237) within the Circle Tract in Southampton County, will include cultural deposits associated with settlement patterns, domestic and commercial activities, locations of important tribal resources such as dwellings, community space, ceremonial space, and procurement of natural resources, as well as events important to the tribe's history.

In Sussex County, another historic district, which is listed under only a descriptive name as a Nottoway Archaeological Site (VDHR#091-0075) may be associated with the 17th-century Nottoway towns of Cottoshowrock and Tonnatorah or with another town from roughly the same era. Presently, however, it is listed only under Criterion D in the area of Archaeology: Prehistoric. Described in its statement of significance as an "unprecedented series of cultural strata and features," the site's information potential remains largely untapped.

A historic district with both above- and below-ground features, comprised of Wareck/Ronotough/Rose Hill (VDHR #087-0052), also currently is listed in the NRHP for its significance in areas of Archaeology: Prehistoric and Architecture. Subsequent research has provided ample evidence for updating the nomination to include, at minimum, significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage: Native American and Archaeology: Historic: Aboriginal. The property also is associated with the gradual dispossession of Nottoway reservation lands into private ownership.

Historic districts also have high potential to include significant cultural landscapes associated with the Nottoway, including the predominately rural, agricultural landscapes that persist today in the vicinity of the Indian Town site in the Square Tract, the Great Town site in the Circle Tract (both in Southampton County) and along the Nottoway River in Sussex and Dinwiddie counties. A wealth of archaeological sites have been discovered along the river banks, but most have been investigated at minimal levels typically consisting of surface inspection and review of historic records. Future investigations offer opportunities to assign temporal and/or cultural associations, to understand distribution of Nottoway, Weyanock, and other tribes of Virginia's interior coastal plain, differences in settlement patterns across cultures and time periods, and other important trends in colonial-era Virginia.

Registration Requirements

In order to be eligible under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American, a historic district must be demonstrably connected to Nottoway history between c. 1650 and c. 1970. A district must retain integrity of location not only because the land itself remains but because other physical attributes, such as buildings, structures, and objects, have not been extensively relocated within the district itself or brought in from places outside the district. In the related aspect of setting, a high level of integrity is needed to understand the character of the physical environment and landscapes that shaped human activities. Integrity of location and setting contribute to integrity of feeling, which is the district's expression of a historic time. Feeling also is maintained

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when integrity of design is present, as the design will reflect historic activities. Thus a settlement pattern from a prehistoric period, such as the Late Woodland, is likely to be different from a settlement pattern from the mid-19th century. Integrity of design for each period is important on its own, and is amplified by the information potential of a comparative analysis. Integrity of materials likewise is a physical embodiment of particular period of time and can provide information about cultural aspects, such as aesthetic preferences and technological advances. As a result, historic districts eligible under this cover document will retain at least moderate integrity of design and materials. Integrity of workmanship will depend on the property types within a given historic district. Finally, a historic district must have integrity of association by being directly linked to the history of the Nottoway in Virginia as well as retention of physical characteristics that convey the resource's historic character.

Under Criterion D, to be eligible in the area of Archaeology: Historic: Aboriginal, historic districts composed partially or entirely of archaeological sites must be able to yield, or have yielded, important information that can contribute to understanding of Nottoway history. This will be most commonly displayed in the existence of intact cultural deposits, including ruins, that are likely to yield, or have been demonstrated to yield, important information concerning tribal history between c. 1650 and c. 1970. Such historic districts must include sites displaying artifacts that can be dated to the period of historic significance and showing a potential for well-preserved archeological components are eligible for registration. Historic districts lacking surface artifacts and showing a high potential for intact subsurface components, with or without associated ruins, also can meet Criterion D.

For an archaeological district to be nominated under Criterion A and/or Criterion D, the district must retain integrity of location and setting by possessing an undisturbed character likely to preserve cultural deposits, stratification, and context necessary to yield important information. Such districts will have integrity of association as well. Integrity of design and materials may be demonstrated in the presence and distribution of cultural components and spatial relationships indicative of traditional tribal practices and/or historically significant events or patterns. Integrity of feeling is conveyed by the district's setting if it retains characteristics that lend understanding of reasons for a place's selection for a particular activity of cultural importance.

G. Geographical Data

The Nottoway historically occupied the interior coastal plain of Virginia and North Carolina. During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Nottoway habitations and hunting areas were situated along branches of the Chowan River drainage, concentrated on the upper Nottoway River in Virginia and North Carolina's Coastal Plain region (Map 1). To date, field investigations to identify places associated with the Nottoway have consisted of limited archaeological investigations and architectural survey. A literature review has demonstrated that some places included in VDHR's cultural resources inventory have not been investigated to an extent sufficient to assign a cultural affiliation but are in locations where the Nottoway are known to have had settlements.

For the period 1650-1735, English records identified four Nottoway towns. Two of these, Rowantee and Cohannehahanka, were near the mouth of Rowanty Creek in present-day Dinwiddie County, and particularly where the creek empties into the Nottoway River. In this same vicinity, numerous archaeological sites have been identified along Rowanty Creek in Dinwiddie County and particularly where the creek empties into the Nottoway River (Map 8). Further investigations are necessary to assign temporal periods and/or cultural affiliations.

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In neighboring present-day Sussex County, the English recorded two more Nottoway towns, Cottoshowrock and Tonnatorah. One of these towns may be the NRHP-listed Nottoway Archaeological Site (VDHR #091-0075), which is made up of four sites, designated 44SX0006, 44SX0007, 44SX0098, and 44SX0162 (Map 9). Other previously identified archaeological sites representing temporal periods from Archaic to Late Woodland have been identified along the Nottoway River, but again, to a level insufficient to assign cultural affiliation.

Farther east in present-day Southampton County, the 18th-century Iroquoian treaty lands surrounding the Nottoway Indian Towns totaled sixty-four square miles or 41,000 acres (Briggs and Pittman 1997:134). Today, the formerly reserved land is mostly in Southampton County, with a small portion extending into Sussex County. The land north of the Nottoway River along the Assamoosick Swamp was a twenty-eight square mile polygon often called the “Circle Tract,” which surrounded the Great Town (VDHR #44SN0237) (see Map 10).

The Nottoway lands south of the river, known as the “Square Tract,” contained approximately thirty-six square miles surrounding Indian Town and is reached by the aptly named Indian Town Road. In the immediate vicinity of Indian Town is the NRHP-listed property consisting of Warekeck/Ronotough/Rose Hill (VDHR #087-0052; Map 11). Listed in 1979, this property includes the sites (VDHR #44SN0004 and 44SN0018) as contributing resources. Warekeck was an earlier Weyanock town, and the Weyanock were absorbed by the Nottoway by the mid-17th century; Ronotough has been identified as a Nottoway settlement. In 1792, John T. Blow acquired a large tract that included the town sites from the Nottoway. Blow’s son and heir, Henry Blow, is believed to have had the dwelling, Rose Hill built between c. 1805-1815 on land referred to in deeds of the period as “Indian Land.” Although the Nottoway had sold the property in 1792, tribal members continued to gather here for cultural purposes into the early 20th century.

A short distance southeast of the town sites and Rose Hill, the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site (VDHR#44SN0341) also is located along Indian Town Road. The site is associated with the heart of the Nottoway community during the late eighteenth century through the mid-20th century. Millie Woodson applied for and received her allotment of Indian land in 1852-1853, and at some point built a frame house on the tract, possibly near the time of the Civil War. Adjacent to Woodson were several other members of her matrilineage, including Bozemans, Crockers and Scholars. Her daughter Susanna Claud continued the farm after the death of her parents, alongside other neighborhood Nottoway. Archaeological investigations have demonstrated that the site is significant under Criterion A in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Native American and under Criterion D in the area of Archaeology: Historic: Aboriginal as it relates to 19th-century Virginia Iroquoians, antebellum and post-Civil War reservation economies, material culture, and the social politics of free non-whites in antebellum Southampton County, and later, during the legally mandated racial segregation of the Jim Crow era.

During the mid-1960s, a Phase I archaeological survey identified another site (VDHR #44SN0069) within the Woodson-Turner Home Site. Site 44SN0069 was given a temporal designation of c. 1200-c. 1606, coinciding with the Early to Late Woodland periods. Additional investigation is necessary to understand the association between this earlier site and Nottoway reservation-era occupation. Another potential site, associated with the Reconstruction-era Turner’s Hill School, also has been tentatively identified as occupying a hilltop within view of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site, but has not yet been assigned a VDHR inventory number.

With regard to known architectural resources associated with the Nottoway, there are two churches, both still housing active congregations today. First is the Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church (VDHR #087-5420), located a few miles south of Indian Town Road. Second is Bryant’s Baptist Church organized in 1874 and considered an offspring of Shiloh Missionary Baptist. Bryant’s Church is about four miles south of the Claud farm, and continued to be a center of Turner-Claud descendants’ life into the 1970s. Several members of the family,

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including Arthur “Boss” Claud, were buried in the associated cemetery (ibid). It is still an active church. Shiloh Missionary Baptist was founded in 1865 by recently emancipated African Americans. Establishment of independent churches was among the top priorities of freedmen and freedwomen, who previously had been forced by Virginia law to accept white oversight of their religious practices. From Reconstruction through Jim Crow and the Civil Rights movement, churches were at the heart of community identity, succor, and autonomy.

The complex interrelationships among Nottoway, African Americans, and European-Americans add further dimensions to each church’s historical significance. Such places have not been thoroughly documented at VDHR. As with 17th, 18th, and 19th century archaeological sites misidentified as Euro-American, the social and familial intertwining of Virginia Indians with free persons of color, enslaved persons, and whites generally has been overlooked, or perhaps misunderstood or misinterpreted. Such an example is the NRHP-listed Pocahontas Island Historic District in the City of Petersburg, Virginia. Listed in 2006, the district’s nomination focuses almost exclusively on the district’s African American history. A brief discussion of the unusual legal circumstances surrounding Eliza Gallee, who claimed to be a Virginia Indian, interprets her insistence on her Indian identity as an attempt to escape some of the legal restrictions placed on women and African Americans, rather than a fact of her sense of self. Inconsistencies in how antebellum census takers recorded race further complicate efforts to tease out the relationships unless a researcher is familiar with common family names. Future research is bound to identify other situations in which the intersections of ethnicity, race, and class present a much more nuanced understanding of these communities.

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Southampton County, Virginia, has extensive courthouse records dating back to the county’s formation in 1749, and a large body of Nottoway documents is extant within the archival collection at the Library of Virginia in Richmond. Thus the research approach employed multiple methodologies to establish cultural linkages to the Nottoway community and establish clear historical documentation of associated properties. These included ethnographic interviews and oral history collection from the descendant community; in-depth archival research at multiple repositories; and extensive review of the existing literature on the historical Nottoway tribe. The project’s scope also provided for Phase I archaeological survey of one property, the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site, and nomination to the VLR and NRHP. The site’s current owner, identified here as “Landowner,” entered into a Memorandum of Agreement with VDHR to allow for access to the site and the archaeological survey during the spring of 2016. Prior to the submission of the present document to VDHR, a preliminary archaeological research report was provided to the Landowner in the fall of 2016. The Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia (NITV) and VDHR entered into a Memorandum of Understanding prior to the archaeological investigation, and members of the NITV are commentators and reviewers of the resultant research report.

Previous Archaeological Investigations

The “Square Tract” Nottoway reservation in Southampton County has never received a complete archaeological survey of its American Indian cultural resources, however some sites within the tract were previously identified, and recorded with VDHR. As noted above, the majority of these sites date to the deeper prehistoric past, and are generally unrelated to the historical Nottoway community. Several exceptions include avocational research conducted at Rose Hill by various parties during the mid-twentieth century, which primarily explored the Weyanock settlement of Warekeck, with some overlay of Nottoway materials from Ronotough. The sites of Warekeck, Ronotough, and Rose Hill (NRHP 1979; DHR nos. 087-0052, 44SN0004, and 44SN0018) are situated in the same locale, roughly in chronological order of occupation. Results of the excavation of the Rose

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Hill sites remain unpublished, and the associated collections are mostly in private hands or mislaid. A few individuals from the Archaeological Society of Virginia can be attributed with incidental investigations of the “Square Tract” environs, periodically published during the mid-twentieth century in the organization’s *Quarterly Bulletin*. Lewis Binford conducted field surveys of Indian Town Road sites in the 1930-1940s. In the limited publication of those explorations, primary attention was given to evidence of Late Woodland and seventeenth-century occupations, rather than the Nottoway’s later reservation settlements. Of significance to the *Continuity Within Change* project, most of the Indian Town Road colonial-era and nineteenth-century archaeological resources were misidentified as Euro-American deposits, instead of reservation-era homesteads and farms associated with the Nottoway. Therefore, a goal of the Phase I archaeological survey of the Woodson-Turner Home Site was to establish the continuity of cultural materials from the colonial-era reservation through the nineteenth-century allotment period and twentieth-century occupation, with the results of these investigations expected to inform future fieldwork at other locales.

Civic-Engagement and Ethnography

Multiple descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner retain direct memories of visiting the Millie Woodson Turner Home Site, and the community’s historical relationship to the farm is well documented. In addition to the Nottoway Indian Tribe of Virginia (NITV), Southampton County also is home to the state-recognized Cheroenhaka Nottoway Tribe. There also are descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner who are not enrolled members of either state-recognized tribe, but are “descendants” and members of the farmstead’s “descendant community.” Descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner, both enrolled Nottoway and non-enrolled, stressed this distinction during the ethnographic interviews and archaeological research. Extended family members from the wider descendant community, and family members from NITV, participated in the collection of oral history, contributed to the historical documentation of the tribe, and assisted with limited archaeological testing of the Millie Woodson-Turner Home Site. At the conclusion of the testing, select descendants convened at the College of William & Mary’s Department of Anthropology for a preliminary review of the findings and discussion of the archaeological materials.

The civic engagement with the site’s landowner and the descendant community has informed the project’s methodologies, which have been conducted to the highest ethical standards of anthropological research. As such, all principal investigators and graduate student researchers completed extensive training and updated state-certified credentials [2016-2018] for working with human subjects through the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative [CITI].

Within this MPD, two bodies of ethnographic data contain the memories of descendants of Millie Woodson-Turner and her daughter Susanna Turner Claud: the Patricia Phillips manuscript [cited as Patricia Phillips MS 1977] and the field notes of Dr. Buck Woodard [cited as Woodard Field Notes]. The Phillips manuscript dates to 1970s oral history interviews in Portsmouth and Southampton County with the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Millie Woodson-Turner; the Woodard field notes date to interviews conducted 2006-2017 in Baltimore, Maryland, and Franklin, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Southampton County, Virginia, through previous and present research with Nottoway descendants. In both citations, the names of the quoted descendants have been withheld for privacy. In cases where the historical data is older than seventy years, and in public record such as census schedules and court documents, direct names have been used where appropriate.

Due to the Iroquoian kinship structure, irregularity in Nottoway surname use, and the tracking of Nottoway descendants through time, the individuals with the surnames of Turner and Woodson are underlined in the document narrative. Hyphenated names are used as signposts for descent reckoning, but also because surnames

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appear differently in the records depending on context: Millie Woodson, Millie Turner, or Millie Woodson-Turner; Susanna Turner, Susanna Claud, Susanna Turner Claud. For a further analysis of Nottoway kinship relations, Iroquoian descent, and reservation allottee descendants, consult Woodard (2013).

Archival and Historical Research

Research of historical records and more recent public documents was conducted at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Rockefeller Library in Williamsburg, Virginia, the Library of Virginia in Richmond, the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History Department of Anthropology's National Anthropological Archives in Washington DC, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the Southampton County (Virginia) Courthouse, Swem Library at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, and the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Additional archival materials were checked and reviewed from digital sources at www.Ancestry.com, www.Fold3.com, and www.FamilySearch.org. Of the secondary sources, previous work consulted included Binford (1964) and Smith (1971, 1984) on the contact-era Nottoway social organization and culture history; Binford (1967) and Dawdy (1994) on the colonial-era ethnohistory and cultural milieu; Briggs and Pittman (1995, 1997) and Rountree (n.d., 1987, 1989, 1990) on historical Nottoway documents from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and Crofts (1992, 1997) and Parramore (1992 [1978]) on the historiography of Southampton County. A summary of Nottoway culture and brief history can be found in Boyce (1978); a review of the Square Tract's land sales and allotment can be found in Rountree (1987) and Woodard (2016). Woodard (2013) is the most in-depth source on antebellum-era Nottoway reservation kinship, marriage, and political economy. A review of Nottoway-Tuscarora Iroquoian linguistics can be found in Rudes (1981, 2002).

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I. Major Bibliographical References

Abbreviations

AG	Agricultural Schedule [U.S. Federal]
C	Census [U.S. Federal]
CC	Chancery Cause [County]
Chancery OB	Chancery Order Book [County]
DB	Deed Book [County]
DC	Draft Card [U.S. Federal]
FB	Freedmen's Bureau [Virginia]
GWP	George Washington Papers Digital Edition
LP	Legislative Petitions [State]
M	Court Minute Book [County]
OB	Order Book [County]
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